Studies in the pre-Conquest history of Glastonbury Abbey.

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STUDIES IN THE PRE-CONQUEST HISTORY OF GLASTONBURY ABBEY

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ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to establish both the nature and the development of the community at Glastonbury before the Norman Conquest. It is argued that a number of preconceptions lie behind earlier discussions of the subject. The notion is challenged that there is evidence for a Celtic church at Glastonbury; the idea of an ancient wooden church is shown to have been a creation of the monks. Thus it is argued that the earliest settlement at Glastonbury was Saxon and that the monastery was founded by a West Saxon king.

It is suggested that the history of the abbey can best be understood in terms, first, of its location in marginal territory between Briton and Saxon and later between Mercian and West Saxon; and second, in terms of the abbey's long-standing relationship with kings. The extent of this relationship is shown between the abbey and on the one hand, King Ine and his family and, on the other, King Cenwulf and his family. It is argued that to patronise the monastery was to claim both a lucrative source of revenue, and a means of asserting dynastic claims.

The patronage of kings and nobles is shown to imply a degree of continuity in the life of the monastery. It has been suggested that one significant hiatus occurred during the ninth-century Viking invasions, and that the abbey was later restored and refounded by Dunstan. Against this, it is argued, in the light of recent historiography that the effects of Viking devastation have been over-estimated, that Glastonbury suffered little thereby, and was not reformed by Dunstan. It is argued on the evidence of royal burials and charter production that Glastonbury, though unreformed, maintained close links with West Saxon kings.

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Preface

Glastonbury Abbey is unusual among Anglo-Saxon monasteries for the extraordinary range and diversity of its sources. Yet no modern survey of the whole Anglo-Saxon period has been undertaken; studies have rather tended to concentrate on a wider period still, from the origins to the dissolution, or on a narrower aspect of the abbey's history, such as the cults of saints, relics or royal patrons. Only if the period is studied as a whole, however, can the valuable collection of charters be understood and their historical value be assessed and only then can the monastery be divested of the wealth of myths and legends which surround it to this day.

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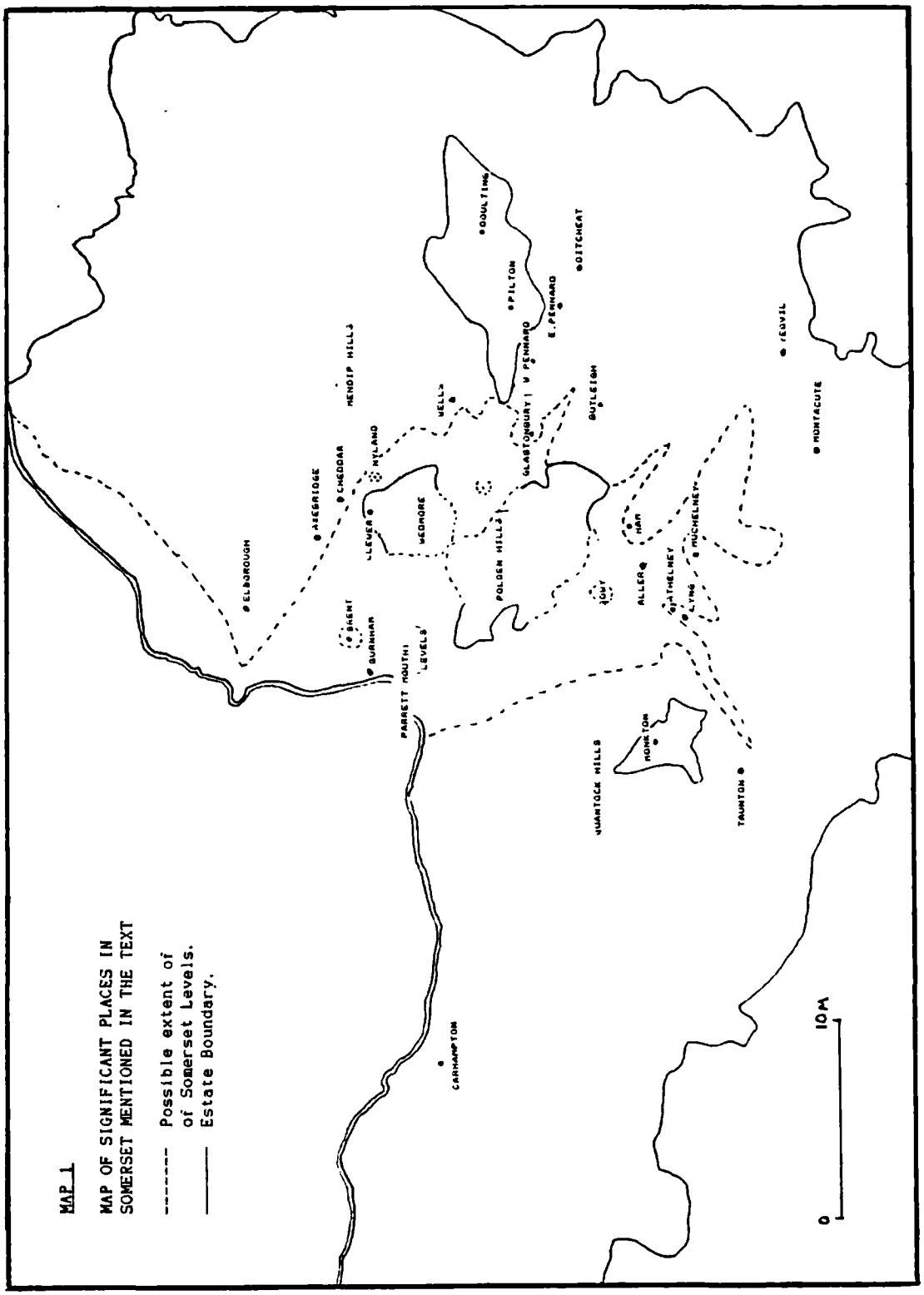
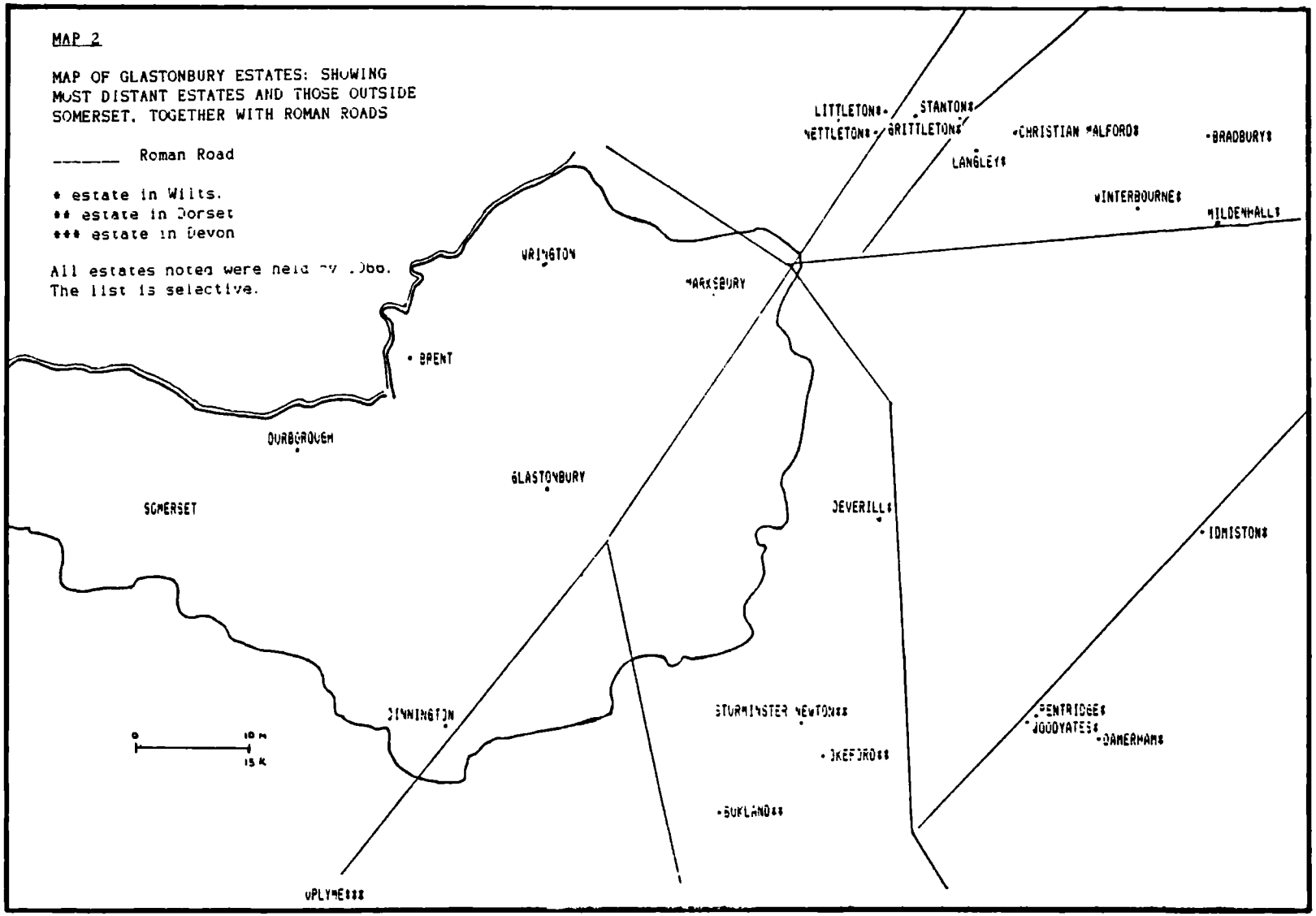
Abbreviations

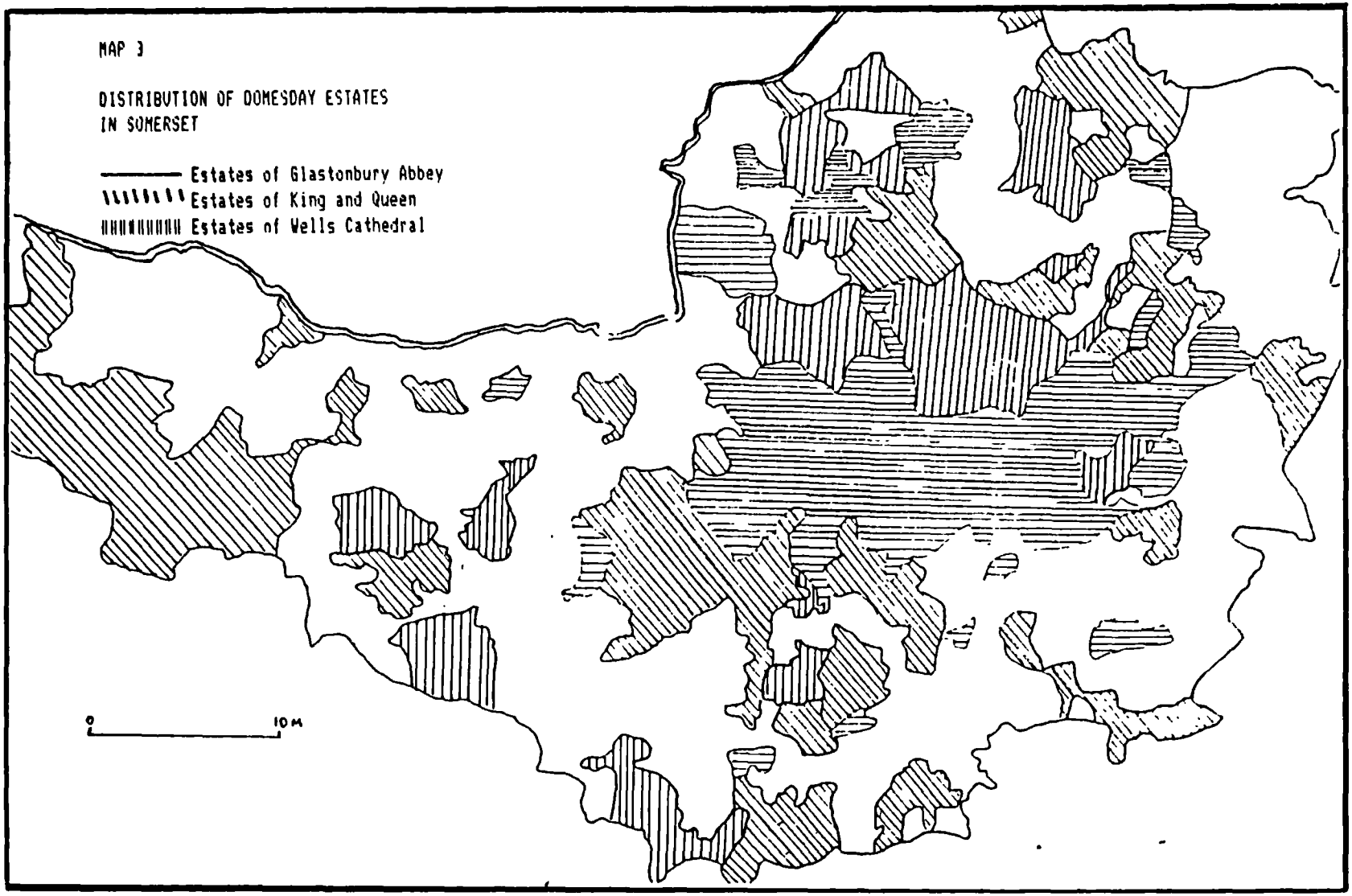
AD	*Adami de Domerham Historia de Rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, ed. T.Hearne, 2 vols (Oxford, 1727)
AJ	*Archaeological Journal*
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies*
ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The edition cited is that of C.Plummer, ed., *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892-89)
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BBCS	*Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*
BSC	Birch, W.de G., ed., *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols (London, 1885-99)
BIHR	*Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Studies*
BL	British Library
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
§	Chapter
DA	*The Early History of Glastonbury Abbey. An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury: De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, ed. J.Scott (Woodbridge, 198)
DB	Domesday Book, cited from *The Somerset Domesday*, ed. R.W.Erskine and A.Williams, Alecto Historical Editions (London, 1989)
DR	*Downside Review*
EcHR	*Economic History Review*
ECW	H.P.R.Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964)
ECWM	H.P.R.Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands* (Leicester, 1961)
EETS	Early English Text Society
EHD	*English Historical Documents I c.500-1042*, trans. D.Whitelock, 2nd edn (London, 1979)

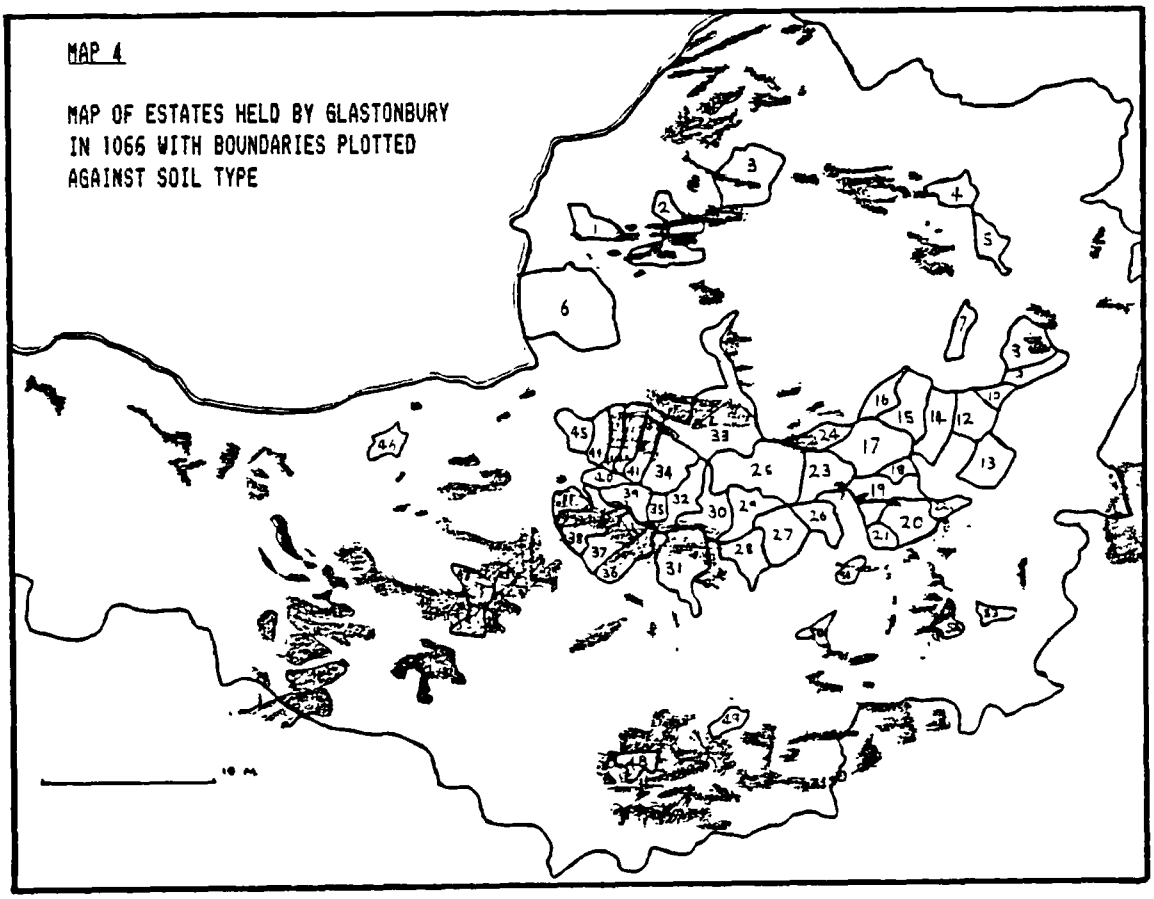
EHR	*English Historical Review*
GC	*The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. A.Watkin, 3 vols, SRS 59, 63-4 (Frome, 1947-56)
GP	*Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N.E.Hamilton, RS 52 (London, 1870)
GR	*Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis regum Anglorum*, ed. W.Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 90 (1887-89)
HE	Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, cited from the edition of C.Plummer, ed., *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols, (Oxford, 1890)
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JG	*The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey. An Edition, Translation and Study of John of Glastonbury's Chronica Sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie*, ed. J.Carley (Woodbridge, 1985)
JSA	*Journal of the Society of Archivists*
LISTS A-D	Lists of single-Sheet Charters, cited from LT
LT	S.Keynes, *The Liber Terrarum of Glastonbury Abbey*
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MIÖG	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*
MSD	*Memorials of St Dunsta*n, ed. W.Stubbs, RS 63 (London, 1874)
RB	*Revue Benedictine*
RS	Rolls Series
S.	P.Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968)
SANHS	*Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*
SCOTT	J.Scott, ed. DA
SDNQ	*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*
SETTIMANE	*Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull' Alto Medioevo*
SRS	Somerset Record Society

TANGL	M.Tangl, ed., *Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, MGH Epistolae Selectae I, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1955)
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*


MAP 1
MAP OF SIGNIFICANT PLACES IN SOMERSET MENTIONED IN THE TEXT
Possible extent of of Somerset Levels.
Estate Boundary.
ELBOROUGH
AXBRIDGE
CHEDDAR
MENDIP HILLS
WELLS
GLASTONBURY
E. PENNARD
PILTON
GLASTONBURY
BUTLEIGH
DITCHEAT
MONTACUTE
YEOVIL
BURNHAM
PARRETT MOUTH
LEVELS
POLDEN HILLS
MUCHELNEY
ALLER
LYNG
TAUNTON
QUANTOCK HILLS
CARHAMPTON
0
10M


MAP 2
MAP OF GLASTONBURY ESTATES: SHOWING MOST DISTANT ESTATES AND THOSE OUTSIDE SOMERSET, TOGETHER WITH ROMAN ROADS
_____ Roman Road
* estate in Wilts.
** estate in Dorset
*** estate in Devon
All estates noted were held by Abbo.
The list is selective.
LITTLETON*
STANTON*
NETTLETON*
GRITTLETON*
CHRISTIAN MALFORD*
BRADBURY*
LANGLEY*
WINTERBOURNE*
MILDENHALL*
MARKSBURY
BRENT
OURBOROUGH
GLASTONBURY
SOMERSET
DEVERILL*
IDMISTON*
PENTRIDGE*
GOODYATES*
DAMERHAM*
SYMINGTON
STURMINSTER NEWTON**
OKEFORD**
BUKLAND**
PLYMPTON***
0
10 M
15 K


MAP 3
DISTRIBUTION OF DOMESDAY ESTATES
IN SOMERSET
Estates of Glastonbury Abbey
Estates of King and Queen
Estates of Wells Cathedral
0
10 M



Shaded areas indicate soil of grades one and two (where one is good and five is poor). After the Soil Survey for England and Wales Map 14. Estates are based on Parish boundaries.	12 CRANMORE	33 MEARE AND NYLAND
	13 BATCOMBE	34 SHAPWICK
	14 DOULTING	35 GREINTON
	15 SHEPTON	36 OTHERY
	16 CROSCOMBE	37 MIDDLEZOY
	17 PILTON	38 WESTONZOYLAND
	18 PYLLE	39 SUTTON
	19 PENNARD E	40 STAWELL
	20 DITCHEAT	41 CATCOTT
	21 HORNBLOTTON	42 EDINGTON
1 HUTTON AND ELBOROUGH	22 LAMYATT	43 CHILTON
2 WINSCOMBE	23 PENNARD W	44 COSSINGTON
3 WRINGTON	24 NORTH WOOTTON	45 WOOLAVINGTON
4 MARKSBURY	25 GLASTONBURY	46 BURBOROUGH
5 CAMERTON	26 BALTONSBOROUGH	47 MONKTON W
6 BRENT	27 BUTLIEGH	48 KINGSTONE
7 STRATTON	29 COMPTON	49 STOKE X2
8 MELLS	29 STREET	50 PODIMORE
9 WHATLEY	30 WALTON	51 LYDFORD E
10 DOWNHEAD	31 HIGH HAM	52 BLACKFORD
11 CHEDZOY	32 ASHCOTT	53 LATTIFORD

CHAPTER ONE

The history of Glastonbury has been written and rewritten over the past thousand years. Before the Dissolution the monastery could boast the histories of William of Malmesbury, Adam of Domerham and John of Glastonbury. Since then the antiquaries, Leland, Camden, Hearne and Eyston, continued interest in the monastery, recording uncritically many of the monastic myths but adding important descriptions of the library, the church and later of the abbey ruins[1]. By modern standards the history of Glastonbury was set on a new path in the nineteenth century first by Warner, who conjours an apt picture: 'the very first step into the antiquities of Glaston is a plunge into contradiction and confusion: and the six earliest centuries may be compared to that land of gloom and shadows, where..no real forms can be apprehended; no substantial being encountered; where the eye is cheated with vain visions, instead of beholding actual existencies; and curiosity must be satisfied with legends and false fables, in the room of incontrovertible certainties, or even rational probabilities'[2]. Warner was followed by Willis, Freeman and Stubbs and in the twentieth century by Robinson and Finberg[3]. Recent critical editions of the histories of William of Malmesbury and John of Glastonbury have enabled considerable progress to be made[4].

A significant feature of many of the histories and studies of Glastonbury is their partisan nature. This is to be expected of the works of the Glastonbury monks themselves but it is also true to some extent of works of all periods. Not least because those interested enough to write about the abbey were in some way associated with Somerset, whether having been born there or having moved there. Freeman was born in Staffordshire in

1823 but moved to Somerset in 1860[5]; Robinson was born in Somerset and became Dean of Wells in 1911[6]. For Freeman, whose historical interest was with 'constitutional' questions, ecclesiastical history was secondary. When his two studies of Ine are compared, it is striking how critical he was of the sources for Ine's succession yet how credulous he was of the evidence for the churches in Somerset and especially at Glastonbury. In many ways the teleology of Freeman's writing was an extension of what the monks had first begun; both were concerned to establish that their present position was the outcome of a development which could be seen and traced in history: the English as one nation began with the creation of Wessex and Wessex was the creation of Ine working in Somerset and in Somerset stood the oldest church in the land, where, some believed, Christ had visited.

Robinson, perhaps the greatest of Glastonbury scholars, was highly critical of all the sources concerning the abbey. His studies remain essential. Yet even he betrayed his interest where he identified the members of the 'monastic party', educated at Glastonbury; for they were almost all 'Somerset men' and hence their revival of English culture could be traced back to Glastonbury[7]. The legends telling of Joseph of Arimathea and Arthur's concern with Glastonbury were elegantly shown by Robinson, in his study of 1926, to have no historical basis[8]. Yet half a century later the quest for Arthur once again loomed large in Glastonbury studies[9]. If modern scholarship has rid itself of an arthurian taint, it is still susceptible to legends.

So powerful are the legends that surround the history of Glastonbury that they still survive. The idea, propounded by the monks, that there was an ancient church at Glastonbury built of wattles has largely been followed by modern historians and archaeologists[10] . And so powerful are the myths

that lie behind these legends that 'cults' are alive and well at Glastonbury today. Many claim to feel at Glastonbury a sense of continuity with the past: a feeling of the past as tangible and attainable in the present. The cumulative weight of the legends and the myths are seen in themselves to be evidence of some greater truth. This is common to both the mediaeval and modern mind.

The study of the early history of Glastonbury requires an appreciation of the problems of arguments or, more exactly, assumptions, based upon centuries of belief. It is also involves some understanding of a wide variety of disciplines - etymology, topography, diplomatic, palaeography, and archaeology - which in turn reflect the diverse nature of the sources. In the following I shall consider the major written sources for the history of the abbey; William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*; the charters, extant and lost; and B's Life of St Dunstan.

To a large extent the view of the Anglo-Saxon past depends on material that has been written long after the events it describes. Much is of the twelfth century from William, of the thirteenth century from a list of now lost charters known as the *Liber Terrarum*, or of the fourteenth century from the Great Cartulary. Our perspective is thus focused by these views of a more remote past; it is a refraction of that focused in the later sources. It is possible to see into the tenth century through B's Life and one or two charters of that date, but the view is limited. To write anything of the history of Glastonbury abbey from its foundation to the tenth century is to use second-hand notices; and hence the importance of understanding the limitations of these sources, of what they do tell us as well as what they do not.

1.1 William of Malmesbury

William wrote four important works concerned with the history of Glastonbury. The *Gesta Pontificum* and the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* were both completed by 1125 and revised between 1135 and c.1140; and the *De Antiquitate* and *Vita Dunstani* were written at the same time between 1129 and 1139. Since the later recensions of the GR refer to the DA, and since the DA makes no mention of King Stephen, then the dates of the DA might be narrowed to 1129-1135[11].

William's work has been criticised in widely differing ways. He has been praised as an historian on the point of breaking from his own *Weltanschauung* and criticised for his credulity and wilful mis-handling of his sources[12]. Thomson observed that it is misleading to call William either 'modern' or 'of his own time'[13]. But all such views depend upon the point of comparison; whether it is the standards of Bede, William's contemporaries or modern historians. Judgement also depends upon purpose; whether William's work is considered for its own sake, and for its place in the development of historical writing or whether his work is considered for its historical content. Of course, no one approach is independent, for the first should tell us much about the last. Failure to distinguish the point of judgement is to conclude with Gransden, that William 'felt obliged to "prove" the great antiquity of Malmesbury and Glastonbury: to do this he sometimes made uncritical use of legend and he copied forged charters'[14]. The distinction should be made since, for the history of Glastonbury, William's work has to be used as a substantial source, recording details of earlier historical evidence. Thus his work should be judged by modern standards. It is important to know the extent to which William manipulated

his material (if at all) in order to know how far it can be used as evidence for an earlier period.

Thomson has argued that William was at his 'coolest' and most intellectual when he was writing of the distant past. In contrast he was most credulous in his hagiographical works and the later books of the GR - nearer to his own time. As evidence for this Thomson cited the example of the DA, beginning with its restrained description of the apostolic origins and ending with the miraculous occasion of the wounded cross[15]. But I am not sure that this is quite right. William does give fanciful stories of the early period, such as the appearance of Christ before St David. This story is symptomatic of the difficulty William had in deciding on the origins of the abbey. 'In ch.2 he attributed its foundation to the disciples sent by Eleutherius, while allowing the possibilty of an apostolic foundation, but here he combines a local legend about St David with an account of an heavenly dedication similar to the one in the earliest life of Dunstan..'[16]. William may have been, as Thomson suggests, 'cool and intellectual' when he was dealing with Canon Law, but the DA was written for the monks of Glastonbury to establish the antiquity of the abbey; to bring the distant past to the present. William was not only writing about past events but also about a church or holy place which continued to exist (in whatever form). Thus he includes the stories that he learned at Glastonbury as well as the miracle of the bleeding cross: because both were in one sense close to his time.

For Thomson there was conflict in William's mind: an ideological issue, because he distinguished between what he wanted to say and what he ought to say; between his *Weltanschauung* and his own intellectual conclusions. Thomson cites an example from William's comments on Canon Law

where he was 'compelled to draw back when his historical sense seemed to urge him towards a particular conclusion'[17]. But Canon Law was one thing and history quite another. It might be questioned whether William could maintain a 'detachment' when writing his work on Glastonbury; and the miracles he describes surely imply that he did not. William was writing for his patrons a work designed to establish the antiquity of the monastery. In the preface he spoke of his wish to fullfil the monks' expectations, to submit to their commands and orders[18]. In his efforts to please the monks William wrote four saints' lives as well as the DA. All of these works were designed to enhance the prestige of the abbey, to stress its continued link with the Saxon and British past[19]. There was no 'conflict' in writing such a history: William wrote what was needed, for, as Wallace-Hadrill wrote of Hilduin, 'what ought to have existed, but did not, could be provided for in the interests of a higher truth'[20]. For William, like other mediaeval historians, had a 'sense of the active past'. As I shall argue in chapter two this has a direct bearing on William's evidence for the existence of the old church at Glastonbury.

The study of William's work has been considerably advanced by Scott's edition of the DA. It allows comparison of the two principal MS witnesses (T), Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.5.33 and (M) London, British Library, MS Additional 22934, and provides a translation of the whole text. But there are a number of draw-backs. The concordance is not always complete or accurate[21] and the translation although useful, suggests, in places, a misunderstanding of the particular historical source William is using. This is shown, for example, in the translation of the charter of Cuthred (on which see chapter three)[22]. The identification of place-names also presents a number of problems for it is not always clear where the estates William

recorded were situated and a number of Scott's identifications are clearly wrong[23].

One significant problem with William's DA is establishing what was William's original text, for it no longer survives. The oldest MS (T) in which the history is preserved is of the thirteenth century; and here it is continued by the history of Adam of Domerham. William did, however, copy part of his researches on Glastonbury into the later recension of the GR[24]. Hence Robinson[25] and Newell[26] were able (independently) to reconstruct parts of the original DA by comparing the extant thirteenth-century MS with those references to Glastonbury in the GR. Based upon these studies Scott attempted to reconstruct the whole of the original DA, in his edition[27]. Difficulties remain, however, in deciding what was originally in the DA. The basic premise that what is in the GR must have been in the DA, and vice versa, is sound but not conclusive since the two works were written for different purposes and hence William need not be expected to have copied exactly the material from one into the other[28]. William adapted his own material, rewriting the GP and GR, and he may likewise have adapted and rewritten the material on Glastonbury. William himself tells us that he submitted his lives of Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract, to the monks for their approval, and possibly in the light of their comments on the first two books of the the Life of Dunstan, William undertook to write the DA[29]. The possibility that the monks wished for revisions to the DA cannot be ruled out.

It is also clear that if William states one thing in the GR and another in the DA, one opinion need not be preferred, since William clearly changed his mind on certain issues, and none more spectacularly than his account of the origins of the abbey itself[30]. Presumably William revised

his opinion as he learned of new details. This should be borne in mind when judging, for example, the authenticity of chapters two, four and five. All three of these have been rejected as the work of later redactors. Yet as Slover pointed out William could have learned of several of the details given in these chapters[31]: for example the names of the disciples sent by Pope Eleutherius; or the names of Arthur and Avallon. Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, completed in 1138, could have been the source from which William took these names and added them to the DA[32]. There are problems with this hypothesis; as Robinson observed, if William did learn of these people why did he not add the information to the revised version of the GR?

Chapter two also refers to the charter of St Patrick, which Robinson showed to be a thirteenth-century forgery[33]. These charters could, on the other hand, have been based upon William's work and interpolated at a later date. Chapter five is condemned because it refers to Avallon as an alternative name for Glastonbury yet the connection was elsewhere not made until Gerald of Wales did so[34]. But Gerald might well have learned of the connection from Glastonbury monks and so might have recorded a much older tradition, and one revived in 1191, when Arthur's body was 'exhumed'[35]. Chapter four is likewise dismissed for conveniently allowing the identification of Avallon (without mentioning it) in the following chapter. But equally it might have inspired a later writer to such an identification. Whether William was responsible or not for the early chapters in the DA concerning the origins and early development of the abbey, much of the 'evidence' is twelfth- or thirteenth-century speculation. For an earlier period, the DA is most useful when William cites the evidence of charters.

Some of William's sources are clear. Chapter 70 demonstrates that he used the charters, now lost, but still extant in the twelfth century and preserved in the lists of the thirteenth. Further, the grouping of certain charters to which William refers, is of the same order as that to be found in the LT, strongly suggesting that William used that collection[36].

Important are William's references to documents not recorded elsewhere. He cites a number of such charters, from one ascribed to a Dumnonian king to another of Edmund Ironside[37]. In particular he notes grants in the tenth century by Uffa, Ælflaed and Æthelflaed, of which there is no other record[38]. The LT does, however, record charters of the tenth century concerned with the same estates; in the case of Uffa's grant, the same land was given by Athelstan to one Ælfric who subsequently gave it to Glastonbury. Ælflaed and later Æthelflaed were said to have given the same estate in the reigns of Edmund and Edgar respectively. The LT records that King Alfred gave the land to Wulfhere and that King Edgar gave the land to one *Alwold* who then left it to Glastonbury. It is thus possible that the people mentioned by William are the heirs of those mentioned in the LT. There is no obvious reason why William should have fabricated this information, rather it is likely that he had access to now-lost material. This could have been recorded in the LT itself, perhaps in the charters themselves or as postscripts, but elsewhere the LT does record information which has a bearing on the subsequent fate of an estate, where land has been left to a successor. The absence in surviving charters of the details given by William suggests that his source(s) was independent of that of the LT.

William is the sole witness for a number of obits of ecclesiastics. Further obits can be found in London, British Library, Add. 17450, 5^{v} which

suggest that they were taken from a lost obituary or necrology[39]. Likewise 'Florence' of Worcester records the obituary of Ælfheah ealdorman and one *Wulstan decanus* of Glastonbury[40]. Presumably 'Florence' too had access to the same source. William's obits are of extreme importance because they clearly come from two different sources; one list is recorded by the year as if from a set of annals; the other list gives only the date, which might suggest marginal additions to a martyrology. Beyond this the lists are evidence of activity at Glastonbury in both the ninth and tenth centuries[41].

For a number of grants otherwise recorded in the LT, William provides the only details. Where the LT gives only the name of the donor, donee and estate, William often adds the hidage and occasionally gives an extract from what appears to be the relevant charter[42]. A study of William's method of compiling the information shows that in certain cases William adapted or changed material. In two instances where he cites a charter, giving an extract, comparison can be made with the extant charter and reveals some discrepancy. It is also apparent that William used a number of stock phrases to describe the gifts: most common is that where he turns a gift from king to layman to one from that layman to the abbey with 'the consent of the king'. William also refers in similar terms to men who left their bodies along with a gift of land. The wording may be William's, but equally he could have taken the information from a necrology or *Liber Vitae* recording benefactors and their bequests.

More difficult are the royal and papal charters recorded by William[43]. His is the earliest witness to the existence of these charters and hence the forged or interpolated material they contain may be attributed to William's editorial hand. All the royal privileges have, to

an extent, been 'harmonised', that is, they have phrases in common which do not plausibly belong to the date to which the charters purportedly belong. None of these royal privileges can be accepted as genuine. Indeed, it seems likely that William was responsible for composing the forged charter of Ine. But it is important to note that in so doing William did not fabricate any new documents to support his case; the charter is composed of grants for which there is independent evidence, including William's own record in the DA. The novelty of the charter comes in its claim for the standing of Glastonbury as an ancient church with rights not to be gainsaid by the bishop of Wells. The Dumnonian charter, whereby an anonymous king of Dumnonia granted five hides at *Inesuuitrin* to the 'old church', is more difficult to assess. It makes its first appearance in the DA and GR, and is evidently a fabrication. Was William responsible? I do not think so: William does not present the charter as a finished document like the charter of Ine. Rather, he describes the difficulty he had in reading it: *Quis iste rex fuerit scedule uetustas negat scire* and uses the charter to show that the king was British: *uerumquetamen quod Britannus fuerit hinc presumi potest quod Glastoniam lingua sua Inesuuitrin appelauit, sic enim eam britannice uocari apud eos constat*[44]. It seems unreasonable to suppose that William should forge an incomplete charter, only to show his powers of deduction.

On the whole it is apparent that while William did adapt his material and in the case of Ine's charter he forged a document, he did not fabricate the details of the grants he records.

1.2 Archive

Some 63 Anglo-Saxon charters survive from the Glastonbury archives and of these 56 are preserved in the Glastonbury Cartulary, or 'Great Chartulary' (GC) which was compiled (1338-40) under Abbot Michael of Amesbury[45]. A copy, the *Secretum Domini*, was made shortly after (1342-43) possibly as a working copy for the abbot's use[46]. The *Secretum* preserves only one charter not found in GC. The majority of the charters in GC can be found in the LT, but the cartulary also included copies of the royal and papal privileges, only found in the DA and GR[47]. The compiler apparently worked where possible from 'original' charters, but it is likely that he referred to the LT, since GC recalls three charters *quos in libro qui dicitur Londe bok qui uoluerit legere poterit*. As Keynes suggests, the compiler probably intended there to be some cross-reference between his work and the LT[48].

The charters in the GC are grouped together according to the location of the estates. Almost all the DB estates of the abbey are represented. By contrast, it is notable that charters do not survive in the GC for those estates recorded in DB under the Glastonbury survey as having been lost to the Count of Mortain and the King[49]. The LT does, however, record charters for some of these lost estates. It is clear that the compiler of GC wished to include estates which corresponded to the later endowment of the abbey, hence the high correlation with DB. In consequence a considerable number of the 134 charters recorded in the LT were not used by the compiler of GC.

Apart from those charters preserved in GC there are four extant single-sheet charters. Two of these survive at Longleat, along with GC[50]; a third[51] went to Wells and the provenance of the fourth[52], which survives as a sixteenth-century facsimile, is unknown.

A fifteenth-century inventory of the Glastonbury records suggests that a number of the single-sheet charters used by the compiler of GC still existed. This later list does not include many of the charters recorded in GC but it does include two that were not in GC: the bounds of Winterborne and Idmiston and *due antique cedule tangentes manerium de Baddebury tempore Edgari regis et sancti Dunstani*[53].

The same MS which preserves the earliest copy of the DA (T), also records several lists of charters relating to Glastonbury's endowment. The largest of these, entitled, *Carte contente in libro terrarum Glastonie* is known as the *Liber Terrarum* (LT). The list contains 134 items, with three further entries added at the end, possibly at a later date[54]. The LT is followed by four more lists of single-sheets:

A. Royal charters concerning land given to Glastonbury, still held, but without seals.

B. Royal charters concerning land given to *servientes*, held by the abbey, but without seals.

C. Royal charters concerning land given to Glastonbury, but no longer held.

D. Royal charters concerning land given to *servientes*, thought to have belonged to the abbey, but no longer held.

The same MS records a list of books held in the library, of which one was the *Liber terrarum Glastonie, uetustus sed legibilis*[55]. An annotator revised the library catalogue in 1248, adding some books and deleting the names of others including that of the LT. The LT was thus extant at least until that date and the lists of charters refer to lands held or claimed in 1247[56].

For so valuable a collection of charters, it is important to establish when the LT and later lists were compiled. Two dates have been suggested for the date of the LT: the late tenth century and the late eleventh or early twelfth century. The outside limits for the dates of the LT can be established. The latest charter included in the LT is of Æthelred II (undated) and hence the *terminus post quem* is 978-1016[57]. A *terminus ante quem* can be suggested since William apprently used the LT in writing the DA: hence c.1129x39. It is also possible that William saw the charters in the lists of single-sheets or at least that a list of these charters existed in his day, in which the distinction had been made between those lands lost and those retained; William records a number of charters, found in the same order in list D[58].

The earlier date was suggested by Robinson[59], who assumed that since no later charter was included, the LT was compiled soon after the date of the last charter. Edwards has accepted this and argued for a pre-Conquest date, adding two further points[60]. First, an earlier date in the eleventh century was suggested by the fact that LT did not include the privilege of Ine which, she suggests, the compiler would have included had it been available to him. But since the charter was forged by William, this does not help the argument. Secondly, Edwards noted that the library catalogue's description of the LT as *vetust. set legibilis* 'tends to suggest that it dated from a much earlier period' (than the catalogue itself). But how old is 'old'? Or to put it another way, can this description be used to distinguish between an age of 150 (c.1100) or 250 (c.1000) years?

Edward's argument can, however, be amplified. The library catalogue describes the condition of a number of the books with various descriptions such as *uetustissimi*, *inutiles*, *uetusti sed legibilis*, *boni* and *noui*[61]. Of

the books in the catalogue a few can be tentatively identified and hence an approximate idea can gained of what the compiler thought of as 'old'. The entry concerning the LT is followed by one for *Lib. de consuetudinibus. II. unus editus sub Edgaro, de racionali observancia. legibilis. [alius de Cadomo]*. The former has reasonably been understood as a copy of the *Regularis Concordia*, of which copies date from the eleventh century[62]. Carley has suggested the MSS described as uetustissimi are of the eighth and ninth centuries[63]. Interestingly all the OE books are described as *uetusti* or *uetustissimi*[64]. Of course, if the MS was damaged or aged 'prematurely', perhaps during the fire of 1184, then nothing can be gained from this line of argument. But comparison can be made with those books acquired and written during the abbacy of Henry of Blois (1126-71): these books are almost all described as *boni*[65]. None is described as old or ancient.

Keynes has argued for a date after the Conquest in the late eleventh or early twelfth century[66]. He makes the general point that 'it would be hazardous to assign the *Liber Terrarum* to the late tenth century simply on the ground that it contains nothing datable later than the reign of Æthelred: the series of royal diplomas in several cartularies either end at the same time, or contain isolated charters of the reigns of Cnut and Edward the Confessor to indicate that they were compiled any later'[67].

Keynes suggested that a comparison should be made between the LT and the 1247 lists: 'for if the cartulary represents the endowment of the abbey as it stood during the reign of King Æthelred, one would expect that the lists would contain several charters representing, directly or indirectly, eleventh-century additions to the endowment'[68]. On the basis of such a comparison Keynes concludes against the earlier date; for of the charters

in groups A and B, only one in each appears to be an eleventh-century addition. 'Only when we reach groups C and D do we find 'new' estates in relatively large numbers, but if we imagine that these estates were given to the abbey during the eleventh century, we have to accept that they had all been lost by 1247, and very probably by 1066'[69]. In other words, Keynes is suggesting that if the LT was compiled in the reign of Æthelred II, expected eleventh-century additions to the endowment of the abbey are not evident in the later Lists of charters.

Such a comparison remains, I think, fundamentally inconclusive. It seems to me questionable whether we should necessarily expect any charters representing additions to the endowment in the eleventh century; perhaps there were none. Certainly, the abbacies of Æthelweard (c.1024-53) and Æthelnoth (1053-77/8) before the Conquest, and of Thurstan after, were seen as periods in which the fortunes of the abbey declined[70]. William, who appears to have had access not only to those charters in the LT and in the Lists but also to others, records only two eleventh-century gifts, one of Edmund Ironside and one of Cnut[71]. The latter may be a post-Conquest forgery. The former is lost and hence difficult to judge; but the abbey did own the estate in 1066. Moreover, where the charter gave 17 hides, the DB estate was valued at 22 hides TRE[72] and hence it is improbable that Edmund's charter was forged as a title deed for the DB estate. Significantly, Edmund was buried at Glastonbury and equally significantly he died having fought Cnut; little surprise then that Glastonbury received no favours from Cnut[73].

It is clear from the LT that the compiler was neither systematic in his organisation of the material nor comprehensive in his inclusion of charters. It is possible that he simply omitted or overlooked certain

charters which came to be included in the 1247 lists; in this he was quite unlike William. But the fact that he did not include Edmund's charter or a further six charters of Æthelred II[74], recorded in the Lists of single-sheet charters, does suggest that they were not available to him. Furthermore, it is surely significant that the LT does not record *any* post-Conquest documents. The twelfth-century cartularies of Abingdon, Sherborne and Winchester all preserve a number of post-Conquest documents following the Anglo-Saxon charters[75].

Keynes supported his argument for a later date by a comparison of the LT with the DB endowment of the abbey. He observes that the majority of the estates in DB are represented by charters in the LT, but 'if the *Liber Terrarum* had been compiled in the late tenth century, one would have expected the unrepresented estates [i.e. those not represented in the LT] to overlap at least partially with the lands covered by the charters in the 1247 inventory which were not in the *Liber*'[76]. But, again, in view of my comments above, I am not sure that we should expect an overlap. More remarkable, I think, are the five Somerset estates acquired in 1086, and not represented by charters in the LT[77].

Finally, Keynes cites the case of Camerton[78]. The estate was held by one Eadmer TRE, but in 1086 it was held by the Count of Mortain who gave the estate to the abbot of Glastonbury in exchange for Tintinhull[79]. The LT preserved charters relating to both Camerton and Tintinhull[80]. Given the inclusion of the Camerton charter, it might be supposed that the LT was compiled after the Conquest. But, as Keynes notes, the charter might have been deposited at Glastonbury for safe-keeping, or the abbey may have held the estate but subsequently lost it, only to recover it from the Count of Mortain; in this respect it is important that the Count did acquire a

number of Glastonbury's estates[81] and that Eadmer held land of the abbey in 1066 but not in 1086[82]. If the LT was composed after the Conquest it is surprising that it included the Tintinhull charter.

Why was the LT compiled? One of its striking features is the contrast between the chronological order of roughly the first 30 charters and the lack of such order thereafter[83]. The charters begin with those purporting to be of the seventh century and continue to those of the eighth and early ninth century. The first charter in the list is Centwine's seventh-century grant of Glastonbury itself. This would suggest that the compiler was interested in distinguishing the order of the earliest charters; when it came to charters of the tenth century the order did not matter. The compiler was thus stressing the antiquity of the monastery's endowment and hence of the monastery itself. This I would suggest was his object, rather than an attempt to compile a comprehensive collection of charters.

Given this motive, it is difficult to see why the abbey should have wished for such a compilation *after* the Conquest. When the monks found themselves in difficulty in the early twelfth century they turned to William to write a history of the church at Glastonbury; he employed charters but in quite a different way to that of the compiler of the LT, yet their object was the same. As a record of what the abbey owned or claimed after the Conquest the LT was clearly deficient. A more suitable context, I think, can be found in the late tenth or early eleventh century.

The monastery enjoyed a particular period of growth during the reigns of Edmund, Eadred and Edgar in contrast with the reign of Æthelred II where there is some evidence that the abbey suffered at the hands of laymen, perhaps with the king's assent[84]. The late-tenth century has also been seen

as a period in which Anglo-Saxon monasteries looked to the past, to the Golden Age of Bede; and links with the past were important, whether through the cults of Bedan saints or through charters claiming ancient origins. It was at this time that Glastonbury, perhaps in response to competition, developed its own propaganda of the past: its old church dedicated to St Mary and its long association with St Patrick[85]. More specifically, a list of abbots was composed and taken to Canterbury in c.990; the last of them was abbot Æthelweard (975- c.1009), and the first of them was Haemgils (678-693-), who, it should be noted, received the 'foundation' charter of Centwine, listed first in the LT[86]. I would suggest that it was under abbot Æthelweard that the LT was compiled in an attempt to establish who the patrons of the abbey were and the great age of their patronage.

The LT is thus a valuable guide to the community's own perception of itself. It is also an important record for the endowment of the monastery. Since the charters in the LT have not survived as originals it is impossible to be certain as to their authenticity; even in cases where the charter listed in the LT appears to be represented by a charter in the GC, the possibility must remain that the text copied by the compiler of the Cartulary was adapted or manipulated his exemplar. But as Finberg established, there are certain criteria by which the entries in the LT might be judged[87]. Since the charters do not survive their genuineness has to be tested by certain criteria: whether 'they conflict with anything that is certainly known from other sources'; whether 'they can be fitted convincingly into the general history of the time'. There is, of course, a danger here of a circular argument: charters can provide much of the history but that history may then be turned around to validate the

charters. This may be particularly true of the eighth century when there is greatest dependence on lost charters to reconstruct the abbey's history.

1.3. Charter Criticism

The Glastonbury charters, together with those of other West Saxon cartularies, came under the scrutiny of Stevenson who commented that they 'abound in clumsy and impudent forgeries, so much so that the occurrence in them of a formula is of itself sufficient to cast suspicions upon its authenticity'[88]. The severity of Stevenson's criticism has been recognised; it belongs to a period when the reputation of the Glastonbury monks, in particular, reached a low ebb[89]. Stevenson's approach was two-fold. He analysed each charter individually but also, as the quotation reveals, took into account the nature of the archive as a whole.

The importance of this last approach has been emphasised by the work of Keynes[90]. He asked when and why a particular archive was compiled, with a view to understanding how reliable the contents were, and whether the collection had been adapted to suit a purpose, perhaps to establish an antiquity for the community concerned, or to establish a claim to the estates, when investigated by the Domesday Commissioners.

Keynes suggests, not entirely convincingly, that we should expect the endowment of a community to have been accumulated in the 150 years before the Conquest; advising that 'the process of endowment could never be a long and uninterrupted tale of acquisition and subsequent retention of estates, given the known vicissitudes to which lands of monastic foundations and episcopal sees were subjected throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, until the situation in the *Domesday Book* was achieved'[91]. Such difficulties were encountered most obviously during the 'decline of organized monastic life'

in the ninth century and perhaps again in the eleventh century, when for example, we are told that Bishop Brihtwold had bought back (*redemit*) all Glastonbury's estates in Wiltshire[92]. I would add the less obvious, but as significant, depredations of laymen, whether acquisitive kings such as Alfred or powerful nobles such Ealdorman Ælfric; and behind royal acquisition must loom the (underrated) need to grant benefices[93].

Against this background, Keynes suggests we should ask three questions. 'First, what proportion of the estates known from Domesday Book to have belonged to the religious house concerned was credited to the generosity of the king? Secondly, what proportion was credited to the generosity of local landowners (or represented by diplomas in favour of laymen)? And thirdly, to what period (if any) was the acquisition of the property held at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period assigned?'[94] As to the second of these questions, the Glastonbury charters in the LT and the GC fare well, since a high proportion are grants to laymen. Perhaps more questionable are the number of royal grants which form the majority of gifts to the monastery before c.900, yet which correspond closely in extent to the Domesday endowment.

But such general observations cannot be pressed. That the abbey should have retained a number of estates from the period before the Viking incursions should not necessarily predispose us to doubt the charter evidence. Whilst the LT and later lists reveal that the abbey retained a number of charters for estates which it might once have owned and of charters deposited by laymen for safe-keeping, it is conceivable that the survival of the charters was dictated by ownership of the respective estate; in other words that the loss of an estate would significantly reduce the chances of the relevant charter's surviving. Hence those

charters reflecting the early endowment of the abbey might represent only a fraction of the number of estates that might have been given to the monastery. The fact that these estates were owned in the eleventh century might reflect the tenacity with which the abbey was able to hold onto them. There is moreover, an important difference between the monastery's (putative) holdings before and after the Viking invasions; in the former most of the estates were concentrated in Somerset, and particularly in the locality of the abbey, in the latter a number of the estates were in Wiltshire and Dorset[95]. In fact the entire Domesday endowment of the monastery in these two counties was acquired (comprising some 50% of the abbey's DB total) from the gifts of laymen in the tenth century. If charters purporting to date from before c.900 were adapted in the eleventh or twelfth centuries to relate directly to the abbey, it is curious that the majority should relate to Somerset. One might expect charters relating to Wilts. and Dorset to have been adapted likewise.

A second feature of the early charters is that they do not invariably correspond to the endowment in Domesday. Opinion is shifting here: where earlier scholars considered it a point in favour of a charter that the estate granted was of the same size as its counterpart in Domesday Book, it is now accepted that estates granted long before the eleventh century should vary considerably from the corresponding Domesday estates[96]. Only one estate of those granted to Glastonbury in the seventh and eighth centuries has the same hidage as that recorded in Domesday[97]; and in a number of these charters the estates granted bear no direct relationship to those recorded in DB[98].

Keynes' suggestion that we should look to the 150 years before the Conquest for the accumulation of a community's endowment is questionable.

Keynes presumably would see the period beginning c.900, that is after the Viking incursions. The Vikings are clearly a factor to be considered especially in relation to the histories of houses in the east of England, although it is worth noting that Christ Church had accumulated a large part of its Domesday endowment before c.800[99]. Viking impact may have been less severe in the west of England, however, and in Glastonbury's case the evidence that it suffered is entirely lacking[100]. There seems to me no reason why, *a priori* we should not expect estates to have been retained throughout the ninth century. A degree of continuity is to be expected where the monastery had powerful patrons.

As to Keynes' first point, that large numbers of royal grants might be viewed with suspicion: it should be noted that the majority of Glastonbury's seventh- and eighth-century charters are from kings granting directly to the abbey. Sherborne also boasted a number of royal grants. But O'Donovan has argued that 'one would expect a considerable difference in the patterns of endowment between episcopal foundations and non-episcopal monastic houses'. Because bishoprics were instruments of secular government, she suggests it is reasonable to suppose that many would enjoy a greater proportion of royal patronage throughout the pre-Conquest period[101]. I am not entirely convinced by this, for two reasons. First, O'Donovan's suggestion presupposes a fixed pattern where kings used bishoprics to their advantage[102]. Yet bishops were powerful lords and it is not clear that they were always in the king's pocket, as the case of Wilfrid clearly reveals; rather king and bishop sometimes fought for control of monasteries. This leads to the second point; that kings were at least as likely to patronise monsteries as bishoprics, and to use them for their own ends. Glastonbury's history was exceptional in that it enjoyed

long-lasting royal support in the tenth century. This can be demonstrated independently of the charters. The case is harder to make for the period before c.900, where the *only* evidence comes from the charters, but the later royal patronage may well have occurred precisely because of an earlier royal connection between kings of Wessex and Glastonbury[103].

Consideration of the early charters is thus essential to an understanding of the history of the abbey. The difficulty lies in the fact that of those charters that purport to date from before c.800, none survives as a single sheet written in a hand contemporary with the date claimed. Of the cartulary charters perhaps only one, S.1249 appears not to have been adapted in any way; SS.238 and 1253 have slight alterations which do not affect their overall authenticity. By contrast, SS.251, 253 and 1410 have been altered to a degree that makes judgement harder; and SS. 227, 246 and 250 were written considerably later than the dates to which they purportedly belong. Of the single sheets, for this period, there is S.236 claiming the date 682, but with a script of the early tenth century[104]. The difficulty here is clear: the charter was written at a later date and hence a motive for forgery, whilst not apparent to us, may be suspected, but the diplomatic of the charter is such as to suggest that the charter was based upon a genuine text of the seventh century. The solution is less easy: ingenious forgery or a later adaptation of an earlier (genuine) grant to the abbey? Perhaps significant is the fact that the estate is closer to Glastonbury than any other, and as such might be expected to have been owned by the monastery from an early date; it is not listed individually in Domesday Book because it was by then part of the Glastonbury 'Twelve hides'[105]. S.248, dated 706, is equally intriguing. The charter survives as a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century facsimile of an earlier script,

possibly of the ninth century. But the charter appears to employ genuine diplomatic of the eighth century[106].

Stenton made the important observation that no community turned to forgery without good reason[107]. Yet it is by no means clear what a 'good reason' should be; certainly it need not mean material gain. More generally the appreciation of mediaeval forgery, the various purposes for which it was used, and what this reveals to the modern historian, has advanced considerably with the work of Professor Davies on the 'Celtic Latin-charter tradition' and the Llandaff charters[108]. The problem is particularly relevant to Glastonbury since so much of the evidence for the charters is considerably later than the date to which the charters themselves purport to belong. Stenton's question must be asked of the evidence. Keynes, however, argues that the absence of a known motive should not be taken as evidence in favour of a charter[109]. How far should this argument be taken? No extant charter can be described as indisputably original and lacking evidence for a forger's motive we might suspect every Anglo-Saxon charter. It is important to ask why a suspect charter was written and where motive for forgery is not readily forthcoming it can, I think, be taken as a point in favour of the charter's authenticity. The case of the Decimation charters is instructive. They have generally been condemned, but the remarkable fact about these charters is how little the churches, who were their beneficiaries, stood to gain by their forgery: they concerned royal grants of ecclesiastical land, something contrary to canon law and suited not to the eleventh or twelfth centuries but rather to the ninth century - when the charters purport to have been written[110].

If the absence of motive for forgery is *not* used as an argument in favour of a charter's authenticity, then judgement on many charters will be

suspended, and by far the majority of early West Saxon charters will remain in limbo - judged to be neither authentic nor forged. Such paralysis is pointless. It is surely better that one scholar should attempt to use these charters and if necessary that another should refute whatever hypothesis ensue. Finberg's treatment of charters was lenient and for this he has been rightly criticised, but he offered a number of theories, based upon the charters, which still deserve attention: even if they are refuted they still suggest important lines of enquiry for the future[111].

Judgement on any charter depends upon an understanding of the diplomatic contemporary with the purported date, yet the greatest single problem for the study of the early charters is the lack of any 'original' with which to make comparison. Although single-sheet charters contemporary with their purported dates survive in archives from the late seventh century in the south-east and from the eighth century at Worcester, none survive for Wessex before the ninth century[112]. It may, in part, have been this which prompted Stevenson's view: where an 'earlier' charter employed diplomatic to be found in the ninth century, he condemned it[113]. Clearly this was hasty. It seems reasonable to suppose that diplomatic forms once current should appear again at a later date[114]. The difficulty is thus that of finding the point of comparison by which to judge the charters. But following the work of Finberg and now Edwards, certain diplomatic forms can reasonably be identified as those of seventh- and eighth-century Wessex.

There are still problems. The diversity of the forms of surviving charters has been explained in terms of their diverse origins; influences were continental Italian, Frankish or those of more local, regional scriptoria[115]. Indeed, the prevailing assumption behind criticism of charters seems to be that where texts are identical, perhaps in all but the

names of the recipient and the estate, then there is some suspicion that one charter was copied from another. But where charters are basically the same, with similar phrases and words, yet not necessarily identical or in the same order, they are acceptable products of the same scriptorium. The difficulty lies in knowing how far we should expect the diplomatic usage of local scriptoria to differ.

It is important to establish a series of criteria on which authenticity can be judged. Some essential questions to be asked are: should a charter be relatively short? Should it contain narrative? Should it be dated only by the indiction in the seventh century? Should the proem be simple? Should it have a blessing? Problematic is the fundamental paradox that it is necessary to decide on the authenticity of the relevant charters before using them as evidence for the development of formulae but until the formulae themselves have been considered the authenticity of the charters cannot be established. The resolution of this problem might lie in an approach which attempts to establish both lines of enquiry together[116]; for the present the form of early West Saxon charters has yet to be fully established.

One important trait of the studies of Kemble, Finberg and Edwards is the use of categories to distinguish between charters of different value. Kemble simply gave one star for genuine texts, which by his judgement were few[117]. Finberg's admittedly generous attitude allowed several categories: first, those charters which were 'apparent originals'; secondly, charters available only in later copie whose authenticity was not in doubt; thirdly, charters in later copies, 'thought to embody the substance' of an 'original, but having some material, probably spurious, substituted or interpolated'; fourthly, charters thought to be fundamentally fabrications,

'but which might embody some authentic material or record a genuine transaction'; fifthly, charters which were 'complete fabrications'. For each stage the distinctions become more difficult to perceive and since they cannot be quantified, the process is somewhat arbitrary[118]. Moreover, there is a point, however obscure, which distinguishes those charters which can be used as evidence from those which cannot. Professor Brooks castigates 'the besetting sin of Anglo-Saxon historians, namely their use of those parts of spurious charters that fit their theories on the grounds that the anachronistic features of the document are "later interpolations" in a charter that is basically authentic'[119]. But the problem remains of where to draw the line.

Edwards employs a similar scheme to Finberg's, but she has four categories, where one, two and four correspond with Finberg's (one, two and five) but three is divided into two parts (Finberg's three and four)[120]. In so doing, Edwards recognises the fundamentally fragile distinction between those charters with a 'preponderance of authentic elements' and those 'with a preponderance of spurious elements'. That this must be decided by no more than an impression, is revealed in Edwards' study of S.257, where her own arguments suggest that the document is substantially genuine yet she concludes the reverse[121]. In a sense this reflects the more generally arbitrary nature of charter criticism and thus in turn whether one stands on the 'maximalist' or 'minimalist' side of charter appreciation. Finberg was clearly in the former and it seems to be significant that Edwards' arguments support many of his conclusions. As Wormald has argued, the exercise of classifying charters is in one form or another unavoidable since only then may theories based upon the charters be formed[122].

Thus judgement on charters must involve a compromise; between severity and laxity; between circumstances and content. On this basis, the balance of probability runs, I think, in favour of many of the early Glastonbury charters.

1.4 B's Life of Dunstan

B's Life of Dunstan remains one of the most important sources for the pre-Conquest history of the abbey[123]. B dedicated the Life to Archbishop Ælfric (995-1005) and a revised copy had been sent to Abbo before his death in 1004[124]. B makes clear that his account was based upon his own observations as well as things he had heard from Dunstan and from Dunstan's pupils:

Quae uel uidendo uel audiendo,...ab ipso didiceram, uel etiam ex eius alumnis, quos a tenella iuuentutis aetate ad uiros usque perfectos, doctrinarum pabulis decenter instructos, ipsemet educando deduxit[125].

Thus the Life is important because B was an eyewitness to many events he describes. This is apparent when he relates an occasion where a stone was 'thrown' from the top of the old church, narrowly missing Dunstan's head. B comments on the fact that the stone is not of a type found in *hiis Sumersetensium limitibus*[126].

Rollason has sought to show that the Life fits the wider pattern of hagiography in the late tenth-century, both continental and English[127]. But B's Life is remarkable for the apparent lack of interest in miracles associated with Dunstan[128]; and this in turn reflects the length of time that elapsed before Dunstan's cult developed in the 1020s[129]. Whilst B was writing in a particular genre, his Life is unusual in providing a number of historical details which betray a work closer to contemporary biography.

Lapidge has argued that B was the author of a letter to Archbishop Dunstan[130]. B was at Liège, where he had been under the patronage of Bishop Ebrachar, but since Ebrachar's death in 971, he looked for a new patron. In the letter he asked for Dunstan's patronage and assistance to return to England, recalling that he had been in Dunstan's personal retinue along with his 'nobles'. Lapidge points out that the Life makes it clear that B was an Englishman and might have been the *scholasticus* who had been with Dunstan, when a stone was thrown at the prelate[131]. He has drawn attention to a charter of Eadred, dated 955, which is witnessed by Dunstan as abbot and unusually by two deacons, who might have been part of Dunstan's retinue and community[132]. One of these men is called Byrhthelm: Lapidge suggests this is B himself. If the identification is correct it would explain B's knowledge of the political events of the reigns of Edmund, Eadred and Eadwig but not thereafter.

It is surely significant that B went to join a community of secular priests. As Lapidge suggests this may well have been a good opportunity to further his studies under the learned Ebracher. But B's choice might also reflect something of the nature of the community he was leaving; possibly the life at Liège was one with which he had been familiar at Glastonbury. In other words, the community at Glastonbury comprised secular clerks while B was there and while Dunstan was abbot[133].

B lived among the canons of Liège during the period of reform in England, under Edgar, and hence his account is important because it was not written by a monk. Three references that have been thought to point to reform at Glastonbury and Canterbury are inconclusive: B certainly does not talk of reform[134].

An important feature of B's Life is his lack of knowledge of events in England after he left for the continent. It is possible that B went with Dunstan to 'Gaul' when the latter was exiled by Eadwig; if so, he apparently returned with him because he describes Dunstan's appointment to the bishoprics of Worcester, London and Canterbury and particularly Dunstan's journey to Rome, in 960, to receive the *pallium*[135]. It may be that on Dunstan's return, B remained abroad. B records Dunstan's trip to Rome in chapter 28, but thereafter it is clear that he had little or no information concerning the later events of Dunstan's life and, in particular, concerning his archiepiscopacy[136]. Of the remaining ten chapters, six relate to visions that Dunstan may have had at Glastonbury, possibly whilst B was there[137]. One records Dunstan's visit to Bath: again, although Dunstan is called *pontifex*, his visit was 'customary' and B may be recalling an earlier event, when Dunstan was abbot[138]. A further chapter concerns Dunstan's visit to Canterbury, but notably concerned St Augustine's monastery and not the Cathedral church, as might be expected had Dunstan been archbishop at the time of the episode[139]. The final two chapters have no significant details[140]. Thus the chronological ordering of events observed for Dunstan's early life is not followed for the events after c.959-60. The only demonstrable error in chronology occurs in relation to Edgar's reign[141].

B's Life then is a valuable supplement to the sources for the tenth-century history of Glastonbury. It is most important for what it implies about the existence and survival of the monastery in the early part of that century and for what it reveals of the patrons of Glastonbury: non-royal, Æthelflaed, Ælfwynn and Ælfstan[142]; and royal, Edmund, Eadred and Edgar. Its value lies in the incidental information such as that Eadred entrusted

treasure and charters into Dunstan's care; or that it was Dunstan's own relatives who turned against him[143]. The Life is also important for what it does not say; about Dunstan's reform at Glastonbury and Canterbury; and about the supposed wooden church.

Notes: Chapter One

1) *The Itinerary of John Leland*, ed. L.T.Smith, 5 vols (London, 1906-10); E.H.Bates, 'Leland in Somersetshire, 1540-1542', *SANHS* 33 (1887), 60-136; Leland's *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A.Hall (Oxford, 1709) I, 41; on which see J.Carley, 'John Leland and the Contents of English Pre-Dissolution Libraries: Glastonbury Abbey', *Scriptorium* 40 (1986), 107-20. W.Camden, *Britannia*, ed. E.Gibson, 2 vols (London, 1772) I, 182-85. C.Eyston, 'A Little Monument to the once famous Abbey and Borough of Glastonbury...' (1716), printed by T.Hearne, *History and Antiquities of Glastonbury* (Oxford, 1722). See also 'The Famous Monastery of Glastonbury in the County of Somerset' (anon.) written c.1660, printed in *Walteri Hemingford, Historia De Rebus Gestis Edvardi I. Edvardi II. Edvardi III*, ed. Hearne, 2 vols (Oxford, 1731) II, 680-85 and J.Stratchey, 'An Alphabetical List of Religious Houses in Somersetshire', in *ib.* II, 643-66. See also J.Collinson, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*, 3 vols (Bath, 1791); J.Whittaker, *The Life of St Neot, the Oldest of the Brothers of Alfred* (London, 1809) and W.Phelps, *The History and Antiquities of Somersetshire*, 2 vols (London, 1836). For a useful summary of some of the historiography on Glastonbury see J.Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1988).

2) R.Warner, *History of the Abbey of Glaston* (Bath, 1826), pp. ii-iii.

3) R.Willis, *An Architectural History of Glastonbury Abbey* (Cambridge, 1866); E.A.Freeman, 'King Ine', *SANHS* 18 (1872), 1-59 and 'King Ine. Part II', *SANHS* 20 (1874), 1-57; Stubbs, 'Introduction', in MSD; J.A.Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays* (London, 1921) and his *The Times of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923); H.P.R.Finberg, *Lucerna* (London, 1964) and his ECW.

4) *The Early History of Glastonbury. An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, ed. J.Scott (Woodbridge, 1981); *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey. An Edition, Translation and Study of John of Glastonbury's Chronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie*, ed. J.Carley and trans. D.Townsend (Woodbridge, 1985).

5) *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L.Stephen and S.Lee, (Oxford, repr. 1968) s.n. See his obituary in *SANHS* 38 (1892), 370-88.

6) See his obituary in *SANHS* 79 (1933), 117-19.

7) See Robinson, *The Saxon Bishops of Wells. A Historical Study in the Tenth Century*, British Academy Supplementary Papers 4 (London, 1918).

8) J.A.Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends* (Cambridge, 1926).

9) Cf. (of differing quality) G.Ashe, *King Arthur's Avalon. The Story of Glastonbury* (London, 1957); *The Quest for Arthur's Britain*, ed. G.Ashe (London, repr. 1971); L.Alcock, *Arthur's Britain* (Harmondsworth, 1973); J.Morris, *The Age of Arthur* (London, repr. 1977).

10) See below §2.

11) Cf. GR I, xix-xxxvii.

12) Cf. R.Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 22 f. and P.Carter, 'The Historical Content of William of Malmesbury's Miracles of the Virgin Mary', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard Southern*, ed. R.H.C.Davis and J.M.Wallace-Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 127-65.

13) Thomson, *William*, p. 22.

14) A.Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.500 to c.1307* (London, 1974), pp. 166-85 at 168.

15) Thomson, *William*, p. 22.

16) Scott, p. 192, n.42.

17) Thomson, *William*, p. 22.

18) Scott, pp. 3-5.

19) DA, preface, pp. 40-1.

20) J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, 'History in the Mind of Archbishop Hincmar', in *Writing History*, ed. Davis, pp. 43-70 at 46-7.

21) See for example the obit of Daniel (DA, §67, p. 138) which reads 966 in M and 956 in T.

22) DA, §§45 and 60. Cf. D.Farmer, 'Review (DA)', *History* 68 (1983), 493-94. On the Cuthred passage see chapter 3.2. Cf. *Ælsuuith* who is given as Ælfthryth (DA, §62, pp. 130-31) and *Bedeswitha* who is taken to be Frithugyth (DA §69, pp. 142-42).

23) See for e.g. some of the identifications suggested by S.Morland, 'The Glastonbury Manors and their Saxon Charters', *SANHS* 130 (1986), 63-105.

24) GR I, lviii-lxii.

25) J.A.Robinson, 'William of Malmesbury "On the Antiquity of Glastonbury"', in *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 1-25.

26) W.W.Newell, 'William of Malmesbury on the Antiquity of Glastonbury', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America* 18 (1903), 459-512.

27) For his method see Scott, p. 185, n.8

28) C.H.Slover, 'William of Malmesbury and the Irish', *Speculum* 2 (1927), 268-83 at 276.

29) *ib.*, p. 281.

30) Cf. GP, p. 196; GR I, 35 f., n.1; Scott, p. 186, n.14.

31) Slover, 'William of Malmesbury', p. 280.

32) For the date see *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth* I, ed. N.Wright (Woodbridge, 1985), p. xvi.

33) Robinson, *Legends*, p. 6; 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 14-15.

34) A.Gransden, 'The Growth of the Glastonbury Traditons and Legends in the Twelfth Century', *JEH* 27 (1976), 337-58 at 354. On 'Avallon' see R.Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (Cardiff, 1961), p. 266 ff.

35) For the 'discovery' see Gransden, 'Growth', pp. 349-58.

36) S.Keynes, 'Studies on Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas', unpublished fellowship dissertation (University of Cambridge, 1976), p. 168. The matter will be discussed in his forthcoming edition: *The Liber Terrarum of Glastonbury Abbey*. I am extremely grateful to Dr Keynes for allowing me to see his work at various stages prior to publication and for discussing the subject with me.

37) DA, §§35 and 64, pp. 88-9, 132-33.

38) DA, §§54 and 55, pp. 112-13, 114-17. See below pp. 297-98.

39) See below 'Glastonbury Obit List'.

40) *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B.Thorpe (London, 1848), pp. 142 and 147.

41) DA §67, pp. 136-39 and see below Appendix IV.

42) See the discussion in Appendix II.

43) See the discussion in Appendix I.

44) DA §35, pp. 88-9.

45) GC I, xi. The Anglo-Saxon charters are being prepared for a new edition by Lesley Abrams, to whom I am very grateful for advice.

46) GC I, x-xi.

47) SS.250, 257, 499, 783, 966; see Appendix I.

48) Keynes, *Liber Terrarum*.

49) DB I, 90d.

50) SS.236 and 563.

51) S.553.

52) S.248.

53) Printed by Keynes, *Liber Terrarum* (L41), from Marquis of Bath, Longleat House, MS. 39A.

54) The only evidence to suggest that the three items were added is the fact they are separated from the rest of the list by a gap of two lines. They are 1) Ine's privilege to the West Saxon church. 2) Æthelwulf's decimation charter. 3) *Nomina diuersorum maneriorum pertinencium Glastonie.* This last might be a list of the Domesday estates or as Keynes (*Liber Terrarum*) suggests a collection of boundary clauses.

55) The list is printed by T.W.Williams, *Somerset Mediaeval Libraries* (Bristol, 1897), pp. 55-76, from Hearne's transcription, *Johannis..Glastoniensis Chronica sive Historia de Rebus Glastoniensis*, ed. T.Hearne, 2 vols (Oxford, 1726) II, 423-44.

56) M.R.James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College*, Cambridge, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1900-04) II, 198-202; Scott, p. 36.

57) LT 77, 133.

58) Keynes, 'Studies', p. 169.

59) J.A.Robinson, 'The Saxon Abbots of Glastonbury', in his *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 26-53 at 44-47.

60) H.Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports. British Series 198 (Oxford, 1988), p. 4.

61) For the complete list of such descriptive words see Williams, *Libraries*, p. 53.

62) *ib.*, p. 68. For the MSS of the *Concordia* see *The Regularis Concordia*, ed. T.Symons (London, 1953), pp. liii-lix.

63) J.Carley, 'Two Pre-Conquest Manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey', *ASE* 16 (1987), 197-212 at 200, n.15. To his comments I should add that the entry concerning two books of Eutyches, described as *uetustiss[imi]*, has been identified with part of the MS known as Dunstan's Classbook and dating from the ninth century; R.W.Hunt, *Saint Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury*, Umbrae Codicum Occidentalium 4 (Amsterdam, 1961), p. xv. On the entry concerning a *Liber Junilii. uetust.*, see Thomson, *William*, pp. 105-07, who argues that the fact that the book is not described as *uetustissimus* would suggest that it was not as early as the eighth century.

64) Williams, *Libraries*, pp. 55, 68 and 69.

65) *ib.*, 49-52. In making this statement I have assumed that where a book listed among Henry's gifts is described in identical terms in the 1247 Catalogue, it is the same book.

66) Keynes, 'Studies', pp. 167-79; his arguments will be set out in his forthcoming edition.

67) *ib.*, p.167.

68) *ib.*, p. 170.

69) *ib.*, p. 176.

70) DA, §66, pp. 134-35.

71) DA, §§64, 65, p. 132.

72) DB I, 77b; Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', pp. 83-4.

73) It was presumably the absence of royal support after Edmund Ironside which prompted the monks to forge the charter of Cnut.

74) Keynes, 'Studies', p. 177, acknowledges this point but counters it only by asking why, if the charters survived as representing later additions to the endowment, had no others done so?

75) See *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J.Stevenson, 2 vols, RS 2 (London, 1858); M.A.O'Donovan, *Charters of Sherborne Abbey* (Oxford, 1988); A.Rumble, 'The Structure and Reliability of the Codex Wintoniensis', unpublished Ph.d. thesis (University of London, 1981). Cf. N.R.Ker, 'Hemming's Cartualry: A Description of the two Worcester Cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. XIII', in his *Books, Collectars and Libraries*, ed. A.G.Watson (London, N.D.), pp. 31-60, with list of charters in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 157, 1-3^{r}: a MS of John of Worcester's *Chronicon*. Patrick McGurk dates the list to 1131-1140+; pers. comm. Charters are included from the eighth century to the time of William I. The Malmesbury Cartulary, Oxford, Bodleian Wood empt. 5, is of the thirteenth century but contains charters in chronological order to the reign of Stephen; Edwards, *Charters*, p. 80.

76) Keynes, 'Studies', p. 179.

77) *ib.*, p. 177.

78) *ib.*, p. 179.

79) DB I, 90d; 91d.

80) LT 121 and 34, respectively.

81) DB I, 90d.

82) The 3 virgates at Dinnington were held in 1086 for the church by *Siward*, DB I, 90d. He also held 3 hides at Dinnington which Eadmer had held in 1066; it therefore seems reasonable to suppose that Eadmer also held the 3 virgates, DB I, 99a.

83) Order is chronological to no.28, a charter of Offa. Nos. 29-30 are charters of Æthelheard, Ecgbert and Cynewulf. LT 32 is a charter of Eadred, after which the charters are largely of the tenth century: none are from the seventh century.

84) Cf. S.Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 180-82.

85) See below p. 336.

86) See below p. 126-27.

87) H.P.R.Finberg, 'Sherborne, Glastonbury and the Expansion of Wessex', in his *Lucerna*, pp. 95-115 at 96.

88) *Two Cartularies of the Benedictine Abbeys of Muchelney and Athelney in the County of Somerset*, ed. H.E.Bates, SRS 14 (London, 1899), p. 36 , n.1.

89) Cf. the comments of Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, ed. C.Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896) II, 167, 185, 247, 251, 262, 369.

90) Keynes, *Diplomas.*

91) *ib.*, p. 7.

92) DA §68, pp. 138-39; whether they were lost en masse is not clear.

93) See below §§6 and 8; Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 8.

94) Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 8.

95) See below pp. 283-86.

96) Cf. The use of the argument by Edwards, *Charters*, e.g., p. 98.

97) S.251.

98) See e.g. SS.248, 1253, 253 and 1410.

99) N.P.Brooks, *The Early History of the Church at Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 100-07.

100) See below §7.1.

101) O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, p. xxv-xxvi.

102) It might be questioned whether certain kings did use particular bishops to implement their policies and even whether they had what we might call policies.

103) See below §§3-5.

104) See below p. 336 and n.160.

105) S.Morland, 'Glaston Twelve Hides', *SANHS* 128 (1984), 35-54.

106) See below §6.1.

107) F.M.Stenton, *The Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford, 1955), p. 20.

108) W.Davies, 'The Latin Charter Tradition in Western Britain, Brittany and Ireland in the Early Medieval Period', in *Ireland in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. D.Whitelock *et al.* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 258-80; and W.Davies, 'Saint Mary's Worcester and the Liber Landavensis', *JSA* 4 (1972), 459-85; *The Llandaff Charters* (Aberwstwyth, 1979); 'Forgery in the Cartulaire de Redon', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, 6 vols, MGH Schriften 33 (Hannover, 1988) IV, 265-74. See also E.A.R.Brown, 'Forgers and their Intentions', in *Fälschungen* I, 101-19; and the numerous articles by various authors therein. See further G.Constable, 'Forgery and Plagiarism', *Archiv für Diplomatik* 29 (1983), 1-41.

109) Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 4-5.

110) See below §6.2.

111) Cf. Finberg's various articles in *Lucerna*, 'Expansion of Wessex'; 'Roman and Saxon Withington', pp. 21-65; 'Mercians and Welsh', pp. 66-82; which raise fundamental questions about the continuity of settlement, the endowment of monsteries and the development of the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia.

112) *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* IV , ed. A.Bruckner and R.Marichal, (Olten and Lausanne, 1967), pp. xiii-xxiii.

113) See his treatment of the Muchelney charters in *Two Cartularies*, ed. Bates. Cf. Stenton, *Charters*, pp. 18-19.

114) See below §6.2.

115) On this see P.Wormald, *Bede and the Conversion of England: the Charter Evidence* (Jarrow Lecture, 1984), pp. 14-19. See also A.Scharer, *Die angelsächsische Königsurkunden im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1982)

116) Edwards, *Charters*, assumes a resolution of several of these issues, although she does discuss some of them at various points in the book.

117) J.Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London, 1839-48).

118) ECW, p. 23; cf. the comments of N.P.Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon Charters: the Work of the Last Twenty Years', *ASE* 3 (1974), 21-31 at 213-14.

119) Brooks, *ib.*, p. 216.

120) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 314-17.

121) *ib.*, pp. 45-8.

122) Wormald, *Charter Evidence*, p. 7.

123) MSD, pp. 3-52 .

124) MSD, pp. x-xxx.

125) MSD, p. 5.

126) MSD, p. 29; See the comments of J.R.Green, 'Dunstan at Glastonbury', in his *Historical Studies* (London, 1903), pp. 29-53.

127) D.Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 167 ff.

128) B relates 'miraculous escapes' (MSD, pp. 12-13, 15, 23-4, 28-9) and 'visions' (MSD, pp. 7, 26-8, 30-31, 31, 35, 40-44, 44-6, 47, 47-8, 48-9). The most significant miracle, where mead is supplied by the Virgin Mary at

a royal feast, concerns Æthelflaed not Dunstan. Contrast the post-mortem 'healing' miracles described by Wulfstan, in his Life of Æthelwold; *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M.Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972), pp. 31-63 at 60-3.

129) See A.Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform under Dunstan and His Successors', forthcoming.

130) Lapidge, 'B and the Vita S. Dunstani', forthcoming.

131) MSD, p. 29.

132) S.582.

133) Cf. Lapidge, 'B and the Vita'.

134) MSD, pp. 25, 28, 41-2; discussed below pp. 319-21.

135) Lapidge, 'B and the Vita'.

136) See the discussion by Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 245-46.

137) MSD, §§ 29-33 and 35, pp. 40-6 and 47-8.

138) MSD, §34, pp. 46-7; see below p. 321.

139) MSD, §36, pp. 48-9.

140) MSD, §§ 37-8, pp. 49-52.

141) EHD, p. 902, n.2.

142) MSD, pp. 17-20, 21 and 44; this last may be Athelstan 'Half King'.

143) MSD, pp. 31 and 11.

CHAPTER TWO

Settlement

The nature of the settlement at Glastonbury has been the subject of considerable discussion and speculation. In this chapter I shall review some of the arguments that have been offered. In particular, I will examine the assumptions which lie behind many modern views of early Glastonbury and which have coloured the interpretation of both the archaeological and the literary evidence.

Briefly, these assumptions can be divided into two groups. First there are those concerning the date for the arrival of the Saxons. This has been taken to be relatively late, towards the end of the seventh century; that is when the Chronicle describes the western advance of the Saxon kings and when charters first indicate that they were giving land to Glastonbury. Such a date has a direct bearing on the interpretation of the nature of the settlement at Glastonbury, for if the Saxons did not arrive until the end of the seventh century any putative community there could not be other than British.

Secondly, there are the assumptions concerning the continuity and nature of the settlement. If Glastonbury was an important religious site in the Saxon period, was this because it had been equally important before the arrival of the Saxons? If so, this argument can be extended further back to suggest that Glastonbury was a great pagan site before becoming a Celtic monastery and finally a Saxon one. A suitable context for, and therefore

alleged 'evidence' of, a Celtic/British monastery has been found in the supposed Celtic missionaries to Somerset, or even in the survival of British Christianity. One set of assumptions supports the other. Both depend to varying degrees upon the evidence adduced in their support from place-names, archaeology and from the work of William of Malmesbury. These will be examined in turn.

2.1 Arrival of the Saxons

Until recently the dating of the arrival of the Saxons has depended largely upon the dates given in the Chronicle. Attempts have been made to marry the archaeological and historical data, and this has yielded the suggestion that the Saxons arrived in Somerset in the late seventh century[1]. Of significance is a series of dates in the Chronicle: the battle of Penselwood in 658 where Cenwalh defeated the Welsh and drove them to the Parret; Centwine's defeat of the British in 682, after which he drove them as far as the sea; and 722 when we learn that Ine had built Taunton. Each entry has been taken to suggest an inexorable march westward by the West Saxon kings, and archeologists have in the past pinned their finds and the sequence of such finds upon these dates. But both the nature of settlement by the Anglo-Saxons and the chronology have been questioned[2]; the former has been viewed more as a process of osmosis and gradual integration[3] than of conquest and the latter as a ninth-century attempt to reconstruct ancestral history[4]. Even if the dates of the Chronicle are accepted they do not conclusively show the late arrival of the Saxons. If Bath was taken in 577 why would it have taken the Saxons another 100 years to advance along the Fosse Way c.20 miles south to Glastonbury[5].

Behind the notion that the Saxons came late to Somerset[6] is the evidence presented by place-names. Studies by Smith[7] and Jackson[8] have shown that relatively larger numbers of Celtic place-names survived the further west they were examined. Turner has attempted to identify a number of these names in Somerset[9]. There are two points to be made here. The first concerns the nature of the evidence. Oliver Padel has pointed out that those names identified by Turner do not add up to a very remarkable total[10]. Not all of them are accepted by Padel as definitely Celtic. The place-names tend to be 'mainly names of rivers or hills, with very few, if any at all, of the 'Tre, Pol and Pen' which are so familiar in Cornwall and also are the type found in Wales. In other words, Celtic place-names in Somerset are very much of the type found over the rest of England, perhaps more numerous but closely akin, rather than of the type found where Celtic lasted substantially longer and in greater strength'. Furthermore, Padel observes that 'the supposedly high number of Celtic place-names in the county' could be 'merely a function of the rate of survival of documents: perhaps parts of (say) Devon would look equally Celtic if they had a comparable number of early documents surviving'[11].

The second point concerns the time-scale by which settlement from place-name evidence might be measured. The place-name distribution-maps have been taken to reflect the relative periods of time recorded in the Chronicle, i.e. it is argued that the Celtic names survived in increasing numbers further west because the native populations survived there the longest. It is, *a priori*, likely that the Anglo-Saxons coming from north-western Europe would conquer and settle south-eastern England before moving west[12] but there is no independent time-scale by which to measure this progress other than that provided by the Chronicle. If the place-names

suggest that they came to Somerset relatively late, compared to their arrival in Kent, this should not necessarily be taken to mean they arrived as late as the seventh century, that is some 250 years after the initial invasions.

Archaeological evidence of the pagan Anglo-Saxons in Somerset is difficult to find. This reinforces the impression that when the Anglo-Saxons did finally arrive they were ostensibly Christian[13]. This, of course, raises the question of how and when the West-Saxons were converted[14], and, in turn, the question of interpretation, particularly of grave sites. Are they pagan-Saxon, christian-Saxon or even 'sub-Roman'?[15] Burial sites have been excavated at Camerton and Evercreech (both close to the Fosse Way) revealing some pagan-Saxon pottery; related pottery has been found in the cemetery at Cannington and at Cadcong[16]. Other 'Saxon' burials have been located at Saltford, Buckland Dinham, Huish Episcopi, Long Sutton, Queen Camel, Hicknoll Slait, and possibly Ham Hill[17].

The difficulty is in dating such sites. Pagan-Saxon pottery has not been found in any great quantity, which has been taken as further evidence that the Saxons when they arrived had already been converted. But then very little Saxon pottery of any period has been found in Somerset. Other Saxon finds are rare and their presence has been accounted for through exchange rather than through Saxon settlement[18]. Again, archaeological interpretation has depended, *a priori*, upon the assumption that the Saxons did arrive 'late'[19]. The evidence, then, for pagan-Saxons, of the type common in the South East is not common in Somerset. But what evidence there is, from graves and finds, should at least keep open the question of the date of the arrival of the Saxons in Somerset.

2.2 Evidence of the Place-Name Glastonbury

Glast

The name[20] has prompted many etymological interpretations depending considerably upon the belief that Glastonbury was the site of a Celtic monastery. Interpretations have also depended upon the name *Inesuuitrin*, for a long time considered to be an alternative (and decidedly Celtic) name for Glastonbury[21], but which Finberg has persuasively argued has no relation to that place[22]. Ekwall considered the name Glastonbury derived from *glasto* (woad)[23] but, as Finberg pointed out, Ekwall's derivation may have been influenced by the name *Inesuuitrin*, possibly containing the Latin word *vitrum*: 'woad'[24]. This argument might be turned around: the name *Inesuuitrin* might have been a later rendering of the meaning attributed to the original name Glastonbury. Turner argued, following Phillimore, that the name derived from Co. *glastann*, meaning 'oak trees'[25]. Padel observes that whilst this derivation is possible[26], it would involve a problematic sequence of name-forms: 'We would need to suppose, first, a Celtic place-name *Glasten*, meaning 'oak-trees' (perhaps as a stream-name, though the river has a different name now), to which OE *burg* was later added, with re-interpretation of the second part of *Glasten* as if it were OE *-inga-* (my emphasis). That is certainly not impossible: but, with the early forms of the name showing consistently *-inga-*, I would prefer to take the first part as being OE also; therefore an OE word, maybe 'woad', is my preferred choice for the first part of the name'. Padel concludes with proper caution that the derivation of the name must remain uncertain, but he clearly doubts a Celtic element in the name Glastonbury.

An alternative suggestion treats the first part of the place-name, Glast, as a personal name and this has occasioned considerable mediaeval (and modern) speculation, fuelled by genealogical material recorded in the DA[27]. This material was based upon a Welsh genealogy very like that preserved in the Harley genealogies copied c.1100, which traced the ancestors of one Glast *unde sunt Glastenic qui uenerunt que vocatur Loytcoyt*[28]. The DA refers to *Glasteing*, who travelled *per mediterraneos Anglos secus uillam que dicitur Escebtiorne* following his sow to Wells and finally Glastonbury[29]. Wade-Evans accepted that the Glast of the genealogy was the founder of Glastonbury and counting the generations back from c.900 he arrived at c.500 for the foundation[30]. Professor Davies wrote of the 'not impossible' journey south to Glastonbury of the *Glastening* in the seventh century following the Mercian takeover in the midlands[31]. This view depends upon the identification of Glast's son Morfael, with Morfael brother of Cynddylan and further upon the claim that Cynddylan fought with Penda of Mercia against the Christian British population. This material is difficult to use because it is considerably later than the period it purportedly describes and because of its character[32]. The etymology is also suspicious, for eponymous foundation-legends were popular throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and beyond[33].

A final solution noted by Finberg was that the name came from a Germanic base *glast-* with the meaning brilliant or resplendent[34]. The difficulty in deciding upon the derivation of the name Glast would suggest that it cannot be used as evidence in support of an hypothesis concerning an individual of that name[35]. But given Padel's arguments that the name is unlikely to be of Celtic derivation, it is possible to conclude that the earliest surviving place-name at Glastonbury is of Saxon origin.

-Ingas

The place-name is derived from the form *Glaestinga*, the family/following of Glast. This was suggested long ago by Kemble, Freeman and more recently Cox[36]. The implications for the date of the *Glaestingas* are significant. The *-ingas* names are most common in the south east of England and have been associated with the early settlement of the invading Saxons[37]. Two phases have been suggested: immigration and initial settlement followed by colonisation. The burial-sites are evidence of the former; the *-ingas* names evidence of the latter, and thus are 'later than, but soon after, the immigration settlement that is recorded in the early pagan burials'[38]. The dating is relative and not absolute, and in the absence of any conclusive evidence for the date and nature of the burial-sites discussed above, no firm conclusion can be reached, but an early date is at least a possibility[39]. The *-ingas* name cannot provide an exact date for the arrival of the Saxons at Glastonbury; it does suggest that Glastonbury was colonised as a secondary phase of Saxon settlement. The relationship, therefore, between Glastonbury and the burial sites at Evercreech or Camerton, for example, might be worth further investigation.

Groupings of *-ingas* names would also be important. Unfortunately, since no comprehensive survey of the place-names of the county has been undertaken it is not possible to identify with any certainty all the *-ingas* names in Somerset. Lists have been compiled from Kemble's day, and if taken at face value indicate a relatively high proportion of such names[40]. All that can be said by way of general comment is that the distribution of these names conforms to patterns elsewhere, where the burial sites are distinct from the areas in which the -ingas names are to be found. These names also form quite distinct groups. One such comprises Glastonbury, and

nearby *Ferlingamere*[41] (Mere) and *Merlinge*[42] (Moorlinch). What is not clear is the extent of the territory of the *Glaestingas*. *-Ingas* names are taken to be evidence of secondary colonisation. Where the place-name survives is not necessarily the focal point of that group's territory, rather the names are thought to have developed on the margins of such territories precisely in order to define them. The lands of the *Glaestingas* and the *Ferlingas* may simply have been proximate at the point at which the names were coined.

Ēg

Finberg suggested a basic sequence for the development of the name: Glast, *-inga-*, *-ēg*, *-burh*[43]. That is, 'the island of the people of Glast' represented by the form *Glastingai*, acquired the habitative element, *burh*, and hence became the fortified settlement of the people of Glast, represented by the form *Glaestingaburh*. The basic assumption is that the names with the element *ēg* are earlier than those with *burh*, despite the MS evidence which suggests the contrary (see Appendix III).

Cox in his analysis of the name concluded, as Finberg did, that *ēg* was the earlier element. Cox, however, considered that the earliest form which included *burh*, was *Glaestingabyrig* (dat. sg. *burh*) and hence that the name meant 'at the stronghold of the people of Glast'[44]. He went further to suggest that the use of the locative might indicate that a settlement developed within **Glastingaēg* and that both names were used contemporaneously[45]. This suggestion might seem to be supported by the purported date of the earliest names: *Glastingai* occurs in a (lost) charter dated 678 and again in 704, and between them *Glaestingabyrig* appears in 688. But this evidence cannot be taken at face value. It is a curious fact

that all the evidence for the name **Glastingaēg* occurs in difficult charters which have either wholly or partly been rewritten.

The place-name survives in four charters. The charter claiming the earliest date is Centwine's grant of 6 hides at Glastonbury to Haemgils. It is lost but a brief summary given by William of Malmesbury may represent a genuine foundation-charter of 678 (see chapter 3). A second charter is a Glastonbury version of Ine's grant of privileges to the West Saxon church (S.246), a forgery possibly composed in the later tenth or early eleventh century. The grant is made to the church under Abbot Haemgils *in pristina urbe quae dicitur Glastingai.* A charter of general confirmation by Cuthred (S.257) to the abbey has the same phrase, *pristina urbs Glastingei* (*Glastonie* in DA). Like Ine's charter it describes the gift as being made in the *lignea basilica.* This charter cannot be accepted as genuine: it was composed some time after the date to which it purportedly belongs, perhaps like S.246 in the late tenth or early eleventh century. The final charter to employ the name-form **Glaestingaēg* is that of Ine's 'Great Privilege' to Glastonbury (S.250), compiled by William himself. There is, however, no consistency in the use of this form in S.250, several different forms being used in the same document (see Appendix III).

This form of the place-name occurs in a further instance. The DA gives an account of a visit to St Denis by Godfrey, a monk of Glastonbury[46]. He describes himself as a Norman monk, *[ex] Britannie monasterio quod Glastingeia dicitur.* The point of the passage was to establish the great antiquity of the monastery at Glastonbury: it was older, even, than St Denis claimed to be. The author claimed to be using a (now lost) letter of Godfrey which supplied the information for both this chapter and the next (ch.4) (which concerned the etymology of the name of

Glastonbury). Since ch.3 refers to the time of Henry of Blois in the past tense, it must have been composed after his death in 1171[47]. The author's use of *Britannia* rather than *Anglia* is interesting and might suggest that he was keen to lend a feeling of antiquity to the name Glastonbury. His use, then, of *Glastingeia* might suggest that he was consciously employing a form of the place-name that might have been perceived as being old. Since, however, by the late twelfth century the charters above had already been composed, the author of this chapter could have taken the name from one of these; and since Centwine's grant was the earliest charter to record the name of Glastonbury in any form, this may have inspired the the author of chapter 3[48].

A distinction should be made between the two charters which use the form **Glastingaēg* alone and those which also use the word *urbs*. The former may be an abbreviation of the latter. But I think there are arguments for considering that the charter of Centwine is based upon a genuine charter, and hence that the form *urbs* **Glastingaēg* was an early development of the still earlier form. William does recall one further instance of the use of word *urbs* when describing a grant of Sigebert's in 754 to the monks *in urbe Glastingensium*[49]. The charter is lost and thus its validity is difficult to assess, but in its favour is the fact that the charter records that Glastonbury had to pay a high price for the land, something a forger might well not have included. It is therefore difficult to account for the use of this name-form in this instance unless it is accepted as a genuine form of the eighth century. The charter referred to in DA §47 would, then, suggest that *urbs* was used to describe Glastonbury in the eighth century[50].

It is apparent that the name-form does not survive in any MS before that of William's last recension of the GR, although if this was the form

represented in his DA then the use of **Glastingaēg* might reliably be traced back to 1129x39. The fact that this particular name was used in the forged charters of Ine and Cuthred casts doubt on the acceptability of ēg as an authentic and early element of the place-name. But it is not clear why in the twelfth century this particular form should have been invented as a substitute for the more common, and presumably better known, *Glaestingabyrig*. The absence of the *burh*-element might be explained by reference to the phrase *urbs Glastingai* where *urbs* might have been used in its stead. But this suggestion presupposes that the two words were assigned a similar meaning, or at least that one precluded the use of the other. Also, it does not explain why, if the *burh*-element was dropped, ēg, and not some alternative, should have been added. I think, despite the late date of the MS evidence for the use of the element ēg, the charters of Centwine and of Sigebert are enough to establish that both **Glastingaeg* and *urbs* were used in the seventh and eighth centuries, respectively.

On circumstantial grounds this argument can be strengthened. Cox's survey of place-names covered all those recorded in documents up to the arbitrary date of 731[51]. Of these the most common element, comprising 9% of the total, are those which have the element ēg; and of the 19 examples of such names 12 are associated with monastic sites. Analogies for the proposed development of the name Glastonbury can be found in Lastingham, Hexham and possibly Coldingham, all of which suggest the growth of a settlement (*burh* or *ham*) within an ēg 'whose name has replaced that of a small territory'[52]. Cox concluded that the element ēg indicated 'a sizable and well-defined area of dry land suitable for farming and in some cases perhaps forming an ancient estate'[53].

What evidence can be adduced in support of this interpretation of ēg at Glastonbury[54]? The 'B' Life of St Dunstan, whose author was familiar with the locality, describes the *insula antiquo uicinorum vocabulo Glaestonia nuncupata, latis locorum dimensa sinibus, piscosis aquis stagneisque circumducta fluminibus*[55]. Likewise the lost charter of Centwine refers to the island of Glastonbury[56]. Glastonbury was never truly an island, for a narrow isthmus connected it to Pennard, a spur of the Mendip hills.

The 'island' is, however, distinguished from the mainland by an earthwork known as Ponter's Ball which bisects the isthmus. This comprises a bank and ditch (on the east/outward side) some twelve feet high and half a mile long. Excavation of the earthwork has revealed only pre-Roman Iron Age and Medieval pottery[57]. In the mediaeval period documentary evidence suggests the importance of this boundary[58].

Radford has suggested that Ponter's Ball represented a 'great pagan temenos'[59]. There is no specific evidence to support this, although it is difficult to imagine what evidence might be found in its favour. The earliest evidence for the earthwork derives from the boundary of a charter[60] dated 681, but copied in the tenth century. This might suggest a date for Ponter's Ball in the same period as the more famous Somerset earthwork, the Wansdyke[61]. It is thus possible that Ponter's Ball marked an area of land, a territory, which was perhaps settled from a period possiby before the arrival of the Saxons, and which may, later, have comprised the 6 hides granted by Centwine in 678 to the abbot of Glastonbury[62].

In Somerset the place-name ending ēg is very common; now representd by the modern *-ney*, hence Athelney, Muchelney, Godney, and so on. These areas of dry land were in effect islands like Glastonbury. The fact that a

number were owned by the abbey from the seventh and eighth centuries has prompted the suggestion that a 'curiously high proportion' have some association with a reputedly early religious site or dedication: that is with 'Celtic' saints[63]. The search for such 'Celtic' dedications on islands near Glastonbury seems to employ the tacit theory that Celtic Christianity was basically eremitic and hence island sites best suited its needs, and above all that there was Celtic Christianity in Somerset and at Glastonbury.

Burh

The evidence of Centwine's charter would suggest that by the end of the seventh century the ęg element formed part of the name[64]. It might also suggest that the element *burh* was added after this date to describe the enlarged settlement. The term may have applied to the whole settlement at Glastonbury, as Cox[65] suggested, or it may have been more specifically describing the great bank and ditch, taken to be a *vallum*, which surrounded the monastery. Finberg speculated that the name might have been coined after Ine had built his *mynster* at Glastonbury[66].

It is worth asking what the elements *burh* and *urbs* tell us of the settlement at Glastonbury. *Urbs* may have been used in the same sense as *burh*. This much is clear from Bede who describes Malmesbury as *Maeldufi Urbs*. *Urbs* could also be taken to mean monastery. Bede makes particular use of the word in this sense; of the eight different instances cited by Campbell four were monasteries and two more were connected with monasteries[67]. The connection, therefore, between monasteries and secular settlements is an explicit one; it is surely this which explains Bede's description of 600 members of the community at Wearmouth and Jarrow[68]. In

fact as Campbell comments the use of *burh* and *urbs* 'indicates not so much the undue inclusiveness of these terms as the undue divisiveness of ours: town, fortress, monastery'[69].

Monasteries represented considerable investment of wealth[70]. They needed to be protected. Bede describes Ecgfrith's campaign of 684 where that king spared neither churches nor monasteries[71]. Boniface later denounced the secular force being used to take monasteries from bishops and abbots[72]. Perhaps with this in mind some monasteries were built in already fortified sites; within Iron Age or Roman forts or on hill tops, islands or promontories of land[73].

The size of the earliest precinct at Glastonbury has been recently discussed by W.Rodwell who has suggested three possible alternatives; (A1) 300x190 metres, (A) 300x300, (B) 320x360[74]. Rodwell regards the first as being the least likely, but he considers that both circuits A and B might have obtained at different times - perhaps as the monastery itself grew in size. But it is important to note that only part of the *vallum* has been excavated. Rodwell assumes that the mediaeval mill-stream and fish pond formed the southern boundary, when in fact Radford's excavations showed that the *vallum* on the east side could only be located as far as the mediaeval chapter house (roughly 100m north of the ponds)[75]. When Radford excavated the *vallum* further south, on the east side, he could find no trace of it. Given, however, that remains of Saxon buildings have been found further south than this point, it seems likely that Rodwell's suggestion for the southern boundary is correct for the late Saxon period. This would mean that the earliest precinct was c.125 meters (north to south) and 190, 300, or 360 (east to west).

The date of the *vallum* will then vary as the size must have done. Radford has suggested a date of c.700 for the *vallum* (on the east side) based on the assumption that the excavated bank had eroded and 'spread' over a period of c.200 years[76]. The *terminus ante quem* was given by the ninth-century glass furnaces which cut into the *vallum*. A *terminus post quem* was suggested by a ?Roman well which the bank cut across[77]. Later excavations in the projected N.E. corner of the precinct gave C14 dates for two stakes and one branch of wood (found at the bottom of the ditch) of 670 (+100/-30), 610 (+50/-70) and 590 (+60/-160) respectively[78]. This would tend to confirm Radford's original dating.

The most recent excavation of the ditch was on the west side (Rodwell's cicuit A). This ditch was c.4m deep and 5-6m wide; greater than the other excavated ditches. No bank is mentioned in the report[79]. This might suggest that the ditch is of a different phase to that excavated to the east. A C14 date for a branch (found at the bottom of the ditch) of 950(+/-70) and 1080(+/-80), confirms that this ditch does belong to a considerably later phase[80]. If it is accepted that Dunstan rebuilt the abbey in the tenth century it is possible that he was also responsible for enlarging the *vallum*: GC records a *fossatum Sancti Dunstani*[81].

The *vallum* at Glastonbury was of a considerable size, whichever figure is taken. It is not of the same scale as the refurbished hillforts, such as at 'Cadcong', but it is comparable in extent to the bank and ditch at Iona or Clonmacnois[82]. Where Glastonbury differs from the latter examples is in the size of the bank and ditch: the ditch varied between 4.00-2.28m deep and 4-6m wide; the bank was c.3m high and c.6 metres wide at the base. This must have been an imposing barrier and would have been more formidable still if there had been a palisade along its top[83].

2.3 The Evidence for Christianity

Terms such as 'Celtic', 'British' and 'Irish', inadequately distinguished, have clouded the issue of the origins of the abbey. Thus Glastonbury's later devotion to an Irish saint (Patrick), and to a Welsh saint (David) have been taken to point to a particular 'Celtic' devotion and hence to early origins for the church[84]. In other words later cults of Irish, Welsh (and Breton) saints have been taken to be indicative of a British church: for Celtic read British[85]. But the important studies of Sharpe and Davies have clearly shown that the idea of a 'Celtic Church' can no longer be entertained: the Welsh and Irish churches were distinct[86]. It is thus worth questioning the assumption that Glastonbury was a Celtic monastery.

The origin of the monastery at Glastonbury has on the whole been a subject to avoid in modern historiography, the work of Robinson and Radford apart[87]. The comments, for example, of Chadwick, Deanesly, Hunter-Blair, Stenton and Campbell have assumed to a varying degree a Celtic/British monastery at Glastonbury[88]. Archaeologists, such as Taylor, Cherry and the Kers have followed Radford in citing the wooden church at Glastonbury as a remnant of the Celtic church[89]. There is, however, a refreshing note of dissent from Rodwell[90]. Most recently Edwards (1988) accepted the dubious evidence offered by Gray in support of a pre-Saxon community and Olson (1989) referred to the 'British monastery' at Glastonbury[91]. Above all it is perhaps the cumulative weight of the legends of early Christianity at Glastonbury which have been so influential - if the quality of the evidence may be doubted the quantity needs to be explained[92]. Explanation it does require, but it cannot of itself be allowed to influence the modern historian's opinion as to the existence or otherwise of a pre-Saxon

community at Glastonbury. The 'evidence' might rather reflect the industry and ingenuity of the later mediaeval monks. In what follows I shall review some of the theories, first discussing the more general evidence for Christianity in Somerset and at Glastonbury, before considering the evidence of William of Malmesbury and that of the archaeological record.

Arguments based upon the idea of continuity of settlement are powerful. They underlie the theories of multiple-estates and central-places and, to some extent lie behind assumptions concerning the existence, or otherwise, of a British Church[93]. The issue to be considered is that of continuity in the place of religious practice[94]. One of the most important finds in this respect has been that at Wells where a mausoleum has been excavated below the Saxon church and dated between the fifth and seventh centuries[95]. For Somerset as whole, however, there is little or no evidence for Christianity from the Roman period. Certainly there is none at Glastonbury where the scattered finds of Roman remains must leave open the question of the extent of Roman settlement there[96].

Professor C.Thomas, in particular, in seeking evidence for a British church, recalls that 'the earliest detectable traditions surrounding the first church at Glastonbury, the *vetusta ecclesia*, depicted it as of wattle'[97]. These traditions are not necessarily early and should be treated with caution (see below). Thomas' 'dilemma', as he calls it, lies in the contrast between the availability of evidence for a British church in written sources, largely hagiographic, and the absence of such evidence from archaeological excavations. In framing the problem Thomas argues from circumstantial evidence that the British church did exist[98]. The argument based on continuity looms large. But there is clearly a danger in assuming too much since the theory would be incapable of disproof. Earlier churches

might lie under British and later Saxon churches but equally they might not; and it seems to me that the case needs to be proved. What is remarkable (as Thomas points out) is that on no site can the existence of a British church be demonstrated archaeologically. This may be because the buildings were predominantly of wood and hence difficult to detect; and, as the example of Tintagel suggests, it is not clear what a British monastery would look like, even whether it would be distinguishable from any other type of settlement[99].

If British Christianity was not the result of survival was it introduced later? Radford considered that 'Glastonbury with cults of St Patrick and St Indracht falls into a well-known pattern...Somerset...was evangelised by missionaries based on Wales and directed ultimately to Brittany'[100]. For Radford this 'British' atmosphere, whether Irish or Welsh, was evidence for Christianity in Somerset and at Glastonbury in the fifth and sixth centuries. In Somerset there are a number of church dedications which might represent evidence of the activities of missionaries in this period. Yet almost all the evidence is post-eleventh century and might equally represent the later interests of houses like Glastonbury in early Celtic saints[101].

In addition to the circumstantial argument supplied by the evidence of the place-names and dedications, it has been suggested that Christianity came to Somerset and Glastonbury via trade from the Mediterranean to the north coast of Somerset and inland along the rivers Axe, Brue and Parrett. Deansley's arguments concerning the La Tène cultural links via Glastonbury-ware pottery with the Lake Villages at Glastonbury and Mere, can no longer be accepted; it certainly provides no evidence that Christianity was imported[102]. The distribution and significance of the imported

Mediterranean pottery has been extensively discussed and in his latest work Thomas rejects any notion that the pottery can be linked directly to the transmission of Christianity[103]. In any case the evidence does not relate directly to the monastery site at Glastonbury since no such pottery finds have been made there (see below)[104].

Arguments have also been produced concerning contacts with the Irish. The famous passage from the Glossary of Cormac speaks of the Gael crossing the Ictian Sea (!) to Glastonbury, a church on the border of that Sea[105]. Assuming the *Glasimpere* of the text is to be identified with Glastonbury the passage is difficult to interpret[106]. The Glossary was compiled before 908, at which time the cult of St Patrick may have been developing at Glastonbury and following Olson 'we cannot be at all sure that a reference to Glastonbury in Cormac's Glossary, contemporary or near contemporary with this interest, represents ancient legend preserved in Ireland rather than antiquarian speculation projected on the past'[107]. Despite the efforts of Rahtz, Irish settlements in Somerset remain elusive[108].

In conclusion, the evidence for a British church in Somerset is doubtful. The evidence for missionary activities and trade-contacts whilst suggesting that Christianity could have reached Somerset by the fifth and sixth centuries cannot be used, other than circumstantially, as evidence of Christianity at Glastonbury.

William of Malmesbury

On the evidence thus far presented any settlement at Glastonbury before the late seventh century could as easily be a secular one as a religious one. Indeed, the contention put forward is that the two cannot be

easily distinguished. But the question of when and if a religious element can be discerned, remains open. There are two ways of trying to answer it: the first is by examining the literary evidence; the second by examining that from archaeology. These approaches can be misleading if taken separately but together they demonstrate that the early history of the abbey is far from clear and, moreover, they suggest that there are no solid grounds for assuming that there was a great British monastery at Glastonbury.

William's DA has been taken to supply evidence for a pre-Saxon monastery. The DA is an important source for the history of the monastery but it should be remembered that William wrote this tract precisely to provide it with an early history[109]. He was, therefore, looking for the evidence where sometimes little or none was available to him. He was fairly sure, apparently, about the first British abbots of the monastery whom he placed before the Saxon Berhtwald in his abbatial list, and hence we might suppose the monastery to have existed under the Britons for some time before c.670[110].

William is explicit about his sources, although one of these, a charter he dates to 601, caused him some difficulty as it was partly illegible[111]. This was a grant of land, *Inesuuitrin*, to the old church on the petition of Abbot Worgret. A second source used by William was a painting of the three abbots, Worgret, Lademund and Bregored, which he saw in the greater church by the altar. William considered all of these names to be thoroughly British[112].

None of this evidence is straightforward and all of it is open to question. The charter of a certain king of Dumnonia, cited by William cannot easily be shown to reflect an original charter of 601. Finberg has

argued that the charter did have a genuine basis - but not the one claimed by Glastonbury. He suggested that it recorded a genuine gift by a king of Dumnonia, in the reign of Ine, of land in Cornwall[113]. Radford, moreover, thought 'that the charter belonged to the period before 670' and that 'it falls into line with the Welsh land grants (graphia)....many of which go back to the seventh or eighth centuries or even earlier'[114]. In the light, however, of the work of Davies on the 'Latin Celtic charter tradition' this argument can no longer be accepted[115]. The charter has none of those features identified by Davies as characteristic of Celtic charters, and hence appears to be a complete forgery. The name *Inesuutrin* might, as Padel has suggested, have been fabricated as a later attempt to create a 'Celtic' name for Glastonbury.

Edwards has, nevertheless, defended the 'Dumnonia' charter on two grounds[116]. First that there is no obvious motive for attributing a forged charter to an obscure king, and second by arguing that the charter as it is preserved in the DA might be the result of William's rendering into more familiar terms unfamiliar ones. Underlying these arguments are two (erroneous) assumptions; that *Inesuuitrin* is an earlier name for Glastonbury and that archaeological finds support the theory of a pre-Saxon monastery. This last will be dealt with below. True, the names of the grantor and grantee in the charter are unusual but this does not preclude the possibility that they were adapted from another source. The Athelney archive preserved a Celtic-type charter which has no obvious relationship to that monastery[117]. In the *Inesuuitrin* charter the grantor is not mentioned by name, and a forger might have chosen to describe him as a king of Dumnonia, precisely in order to establish a Celtic connection. William did adapt his material, rewriting charters, paraphrasing them and adding

his own phrases. But even so, this charter would be exceptional in that William would have to be supposed to have rewritten it *entirely*[118]. It is not obvious why William should have done so. It seems to me more probable that the charter does not relate to the pre-Saxon endowment of Glastonbury but is rather a later adaptation designed to lend support to the monastery's claims for ancient origins.

William uses the painting he saw in the greater church to corroborate his argument. But again this can hardly be conclusive. The painting appeared on a wall near the altar in the greater chuch as it stood in William's day. It was, therefore, on the walls in the church which was rebuilt by Turstin after c.1077/8 and hence the painting must also belong to the late elventh century[119]. Finally, Finberg pointed out that the names of the British abbots are more likely to be Germanic than Celtic[120].

Thus the evidence cited by William, the charter and the painting cannot be used to support an argument in favour of a pre-Saxon monastery at Glastonbury. On the contrary, they suggest considerable ingenuity on the part of the monks in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, in attempting to create evidence of a British/Celtic church at Glastonbury.

An important part of the abbey's tradition concerns the 'Old Church' or *vetusta ecclesia*, which was said to have been built of wattles and later of wood. For the mediaeval historian the *lignea ecclesia* was a tangible link with the ancient past. For the modern historian it has been taken to represent a link with the earliest 'Celtic' church. But for so striking and apparently unusual a feature there is very little evidence that it ever existed.

The wooden church is recorded in three charters, SS. 246, 257 and 966 and thereafter only by William of Malmesbury[121]. These charters have in common the fact that they are all grants of privileges to Glastonbury and all have been adapted or forged in Glastonbury's favour[122]. All three charters refer to the wooden church in the same words; all three make this reference in the dating clause of the charters; and all three use *basilica* for church - which is unusual before the tenth century. Other examples of *basilica* can be found in the forged charter S.227 which is identical in part to S.257 (see §3) and a charter of Abbot Æthelnoth dated 1079[123]. None of the charters purporting to date from the Anglo-Saxon period can be accepted as genuine and hence in no case can they be accepted as evidence for the existence of the wooden church. A number of verbal similarities common to this group and to the other forged privileges would suggest that either they were copied as a group or one inspired another.

The most important evidence to consider is that of William of Malmesbury. In three of his works he refers to the wooden church and on the testimony of William's comments in the *Vita Dunstani*, Robinson concluded that the old wooden church still stood in William's day[124]. William's comments, however, need careful consideration.

In his first work, the *Gesta Pontificum*, written before he had examined the Glastonbury archives, William records that Ine's was the first church to be built there[125]. By contrast, in the later DA he describes how the church was originally built of wattles and was later covered with wooden planks and lead by Paulinus[126]. This would give a date of the first half of the seventh century for the wooden church and an even earlier one for the wattle church. Aside from the problem of the lack of evidence for Paulinus in the West Country, William states clearly that he is only

recording an oral tradition (*asserit patrum tradicio*). It is worth pursuing his sources further.

In the introduction to the GR, William recalls the Ecclesiastical History of Bede and his intention to model the GR on that work[127]. Like Bede he distinguishes between his sources, between the written and oral material[128]. Where an unwritten source is used, it is justified in terms of the veracity of the witness. Where possible the written, verifiable, account was preferred[129]. Thus in the description of Paulinus' building William is drawing on sources which he considered to be of less value than those written down. He justified his use of the material by stressing the reliability of his sources and particularly of local tradition, but in such a way as to suggest some doubt: hence, for example;

Labantem ueritatem dictorum que proposuimus plurimorum ueracissimorum hominum pro successu annorum fulciunt testimonia[130].

William's use of oral sources, of *traditio maiorum* and *traditio patrum*, stands in contrast to his use of written material. He had to rely almost entirely on the traditions of the abbey for its history prior to the seventh century, after which he could use the evidence of charters.

The account of Paulinus' church is thus problematic: William's sources may be doubted, and further, the story itself may even derive from Bede[131]. It is certainly not reliable as evidence for a wattle church, or even a wooden roofed one, at Glastonbury. Since Robinson's work, however, modern commentators have assumed that this wooden church had survived to William's day[132]. Much of the weight of the argument depends upon the description that William gives in his *Vita Dunstani*, possibly written whilst he was at Glastonbury:

Est ibi ecclesiae lignae ut ante dixi lapidea contermina, cuius auctorem Inam regem non falsa confirmat antiquas[133].

William does not specifically state that he saw the wooden church nor does he use the present tense *est* in reference to it. He says only that the stone church is '*contermina*' to it. William's Latin is curious: it is not immediately clear what was there at the time he wrote, and this obscurity seems deliberate. William seems to be avoiding the outright statment that there *is* a wooden church. Yet he is not denying the fact. He skilfully directs the readers' attention towards the *lignea ecclesia* without saying that it was there, both by placing the words immediately after *est ibi* and by qualifying *ecclesia* with *lignea* and not *lapidea*, although the stone church is after all the subject of the sentence. If any kind of building anterior to Ine's church still stood next to it, why should William have not said so clearly?[134] On the other hand I think William did not want to say unequivocally that there was no trace of the wooden church: hence the curious wording of the sentence.

William used the description of the church given by B in his *Vita* and this may have provided William's source for the account above. To this William may have added the information that the earlier church was made of wood[135]. This in turn might have been based upon his knowledge of the Paulinus story. Finally, it should be noted that William described the oldest church (*uetustissima*) as having a floor of stones with interlaced triangles and squares. Perhaps more than the floor was built of stone[136].

Much of this evidence is difficult to interpret because of William's obscurity - which I have argued is deliberate. But the conclusion is clear: the tradition recorded in the twelfth century was about a church that cannot be shown to have existed. This is particularly significant as the

wooden church has been seen as the focus for a Celtic/British monastery at Glastonbury[137].

The archaeological evidence

Thirty-four seasons of excavations at Glastonbury between 1904 and 1964 have produced no clear picture of the monastery's earliest history[138]. Many of the reports lack details of finds or precision in their location and dating, and few plans of the excavations have been published. The most recent report, Radford's in 1981, is described as 'interim'. The problem of interpreting the archaeological evidence has been compounded because the various excavators have allowed their work to be coloured by the assumptions, considered above, concerning the nature of the site, and the existence there of early Celtic Christianity.

A further difficulty has involved the dating of the remains of buildings. It is worth quoting Rodwell's comments: 'the implausibly irregular plan of the abbey is a reconstruction of disconnected fragments of foundations which lack substantial dating evidence'[139]. Where there is difficulty in establishing an independent chronological sequence for the excavated traces of buildings there is a tendency to rely on historical evidence[140]. The danger is clear: the two types of evidence need not necessarily relate, especially as we have no idea of how complete the historical record is. Much reliance has been placed upon the evidence in the Chronicle that Ine built a *mynster* at Glastonbury[141]; on the evidence of B that Dunstan enclosed the monastery[142]; and most importantly on William's comments (the most detailed but written some 450 years after the event) about the building of Ine and Dunstan[143]. It should also be observed that of pre-Conquest builders William knows *only* of the work of Ine and

Dunstan. It is clear that William attributed churches to those about whom he knew most[144]. It should not, therefore, be concluded that these were the only men to build churches at Glastonbury. Indeed it would be surprising if other abbots or patrons had not contributed to the building of altars, chapels or churches[145].

Much of the excavation since the last war has been carried out by Radford. He assumes in all his discussions of the abbey that it was originally a great British church; the supposedly Celtic connections being 'evidence enough of a British monastery'[146].

The 'model' that Radford seems to have had in mind is that of the monastic city, such as that at Kildare[147]. Clearly the parallel sought is an Irish one. So also when the *vallum* was first excavated in 1956/7 Radford expected to find a circular ditch of the Irish kind[148]. Subsequent excavation, however, has shown that a rectangular *vallum* is more probable[149]. It is true that this could also be paralleled by Celtic enclosures, such as those at Clonmacnois and Iona[150]. But it is fundamentally misleading to see this as only Celtic or Irish. The model of a monastic *urbs* or *burh* is extremely useful in enabling us to distinguish a particular form of early settlement. That form, however, is not one that is peculiarly Irish or British. Indeed, the evidence from the excavations at Glastonbury appears to point to a date in the Saxon period[151].

Radford suggested that British Glastonbury should best be considered in a wider context than the abbey site; it must cover the whole island of 'Avalon'[152]. I agree that the island delineated by the earthwork Ponter's Ball should be considered as a whole, perhaps even as a territorial unit of an early date. However, the several excavated sites within this area: the

abbey, the Tor, Beckery and the Mound, do not necessarily show contemporaneous occupation or frequentation[153].

The nature of the Tor and Mound sites is inconclusive. The former, though extensively excavated, might be interpreted as either a chieftain's stronghold or a place of religious sanctuary, which could be Christian or pagan. The latter site has revealed large quantities of animal bones but no evidence of any structure. This might suggest that the site whilst often frequented was not actually settled[154]. Both sites have revealed evidence of Mediterranean imported pottery, suggesting occupation in the fifth and sixth centuries[155]; but this is not evidence of Christianity. The absence of imported pottery at Glastonbury thus stands pointedly in contrast to finds nearby. Further than this we cannot go since arguments *ex silentio* will always be deficient. It should be remembered that this is an argument about settlement and not about Christianity.

Excavation at Beckery has shown a cemetery of c.100 graves, all but three of which are male[156]. The graves also appear to be consistently aligned east to west, and they fall into groups with the skulls in line from north to south. A C14 date for a centrally placed grave (within the later chapel) suggests a date for the cemetery of 730+/-80. The site has thus been interpreted as a small monastic settlement[157]. Radford has pointed out that '..traces of wattle-and-daub buildings (at Beckery) may have been similar to those belonging to the earliest phase of the abbey site...It is not improbable that at least some of these [i.e. buildings at Glastonbury] should have belonged to the post-Roman centuries, since they were disturbed by grave-digging from mid-Saxon times'[158]. But this comparison can be reversed. If we accept Rahtz's opinion that the cemetery and some of the wattle-buildings belong to the later seventh century then

by extension this might provide a similar date for those 'oratories' found at the abbey[159].

The foregoing discussion thus seems to me to indicate that the concept of a monastic 'city' is difficult to apply to the whole island of Glastonbury. What it does appear to suggest is that the island, perhaps as a territorial unit, was settled from the fifth or sixth centuries but that Christianity cannot be shown to have arrived earlier than the seventh century. This, of course, raises the question of when the earliest material from the abbey can be dated. So I will now turn to this site.

Radford has suggested that the design of the church at Kildare provides a possible parallel for the British one at Glastonbury[160]. The Irish Life of St Brigit provides a detailed picture of a wooden church which Radford assumes to be of a similar size to one at Glastonbury[161]. None of this is convincing. First, there is arguably no evidence for the wooden church at Glastonbury before the eleventh century. The tradition of building wooden churches is as much Saxon or Merovingian as Celtic[162]. Secondly, there is no evidence to indicate the size of the earliest Glastonbury church. It is only an assumption that it covered the same area as the later Lady Chapel[163]. Thus the idea of a great British church like that at Kildare, serving a growing congregation, is a premise not a conclusion.

The tradition of the wooden church and its wattle predecessor has been seen as evidence for a Celtic monastery at Glastonbury. Radford argued that the wooden church developed, like a number of comparable sites[164], from a group of wattled oratories standing in a cemetery[165]. Yet both the literary evidence for the wooden church and also the archaeological evidence used to suppport the hypothesis can be questioned.

Radford excavated the cemetery in 1951 and 1954[166]. He found evidence of what he described as 'early timber buildings', under the west walk of the cloister, represented by a series of post-holes: one series had pottery infill and a coin of Edward the Confessor, which suggested that they were dug not earlier than the reign of that king, possibly as scaffolding holes for the twelfth-century church. The second series, which Radford regarded as 'earlier', ran in two lines, east to west. He stated that these were associated with a roughly trodden floor lying a few inches above the natural surface[167]. Radford gave no indication, however, of why this series should be thought to be earlier than the other. This omission is especially important since both series were revealed by the removal of the stone floor of the twelfth-century cloister[168]. *Terra sigillata* was recovered from this level dating to the 1st and 2nd centuries[169]; it is likely to be secondary, brought into the abbey site in the rebuilding of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus the pottery cannot be used to date the post-holes and certainly cannot be held to argue a fifth- or sixth-century date for the hypothetical lost buildings[170].

In summarising these excavations in 1961 Radford reported that the post-holes were found at a 'low level', associated with pre-Conquest pottery. He considered them to represent a building c13x20'[171]. But he cautiously added that 'again the dating lacks precision', as the oratory (indicated by post-holes) was 'destroyed completely' when tenth-century buildings were constructed. Hence 'it was not possible to determine how much older [the oratory] was'[172]. Despite this significant admission, in 1964 Radford described the small chapels or oratories in the cemetery as belonging to the 'earliest period'[173]. Again in 1968, he suggested that the post-holes represented at least four oratories, similar to those of an

Irish type found, for example, at Clonmacnois[174]. But given the problems stated above in dating these proposed wooden buildings, and given Radford's own initial caution, this can hardly amount to evidence of a Celtic/British monastery at Glastonbury.

As well as the hypothetical wooden 'oratories', Radford considered the two excavated stone mausolea to be also of the pre-Saxon period[175]. The two structures, however, are not identical in form and may not belong to the same period. The mausoleum to the east of Ine's church was excavated in 1928 by C.Peers and A.W.Clapham. The latter suggested a comparison with a similar structure found at Poitiers and dated between 600 and 732 - that is, considerably later than Radford would date it. In Clapham's view the mausoleum might have been built as a tomb for Ine. At any rate the mausoleum was not demonstrably older than the church of Ine and cannot with any confidence be assigned a pre-Saxon date[176]. Dobson in her review of Somerset archaeology noted, where Clapham did not, that a bone pin-head was found in the mortar of king Ine's 'chapel'[177]. If by this she meant the mausoleum as opposed to Ine's church, then the pin might suggest a date considerably later than the arrival of the Saxons. In design it is similar to those found between the ninth and twelfth centuries[178].

The second mausoleum, found to the south, was smaller than that to the east; 8'x 7' and 13'x 5'6" respectively[179]. The former had a white plaster floor; the latter was in part stone-lined. The smaller mausoleum was built on the same level as that of the lowest graves, but this does not provide any secure date. Radford argued that the grave set alongside this mausoleum was that which was subsequently excavated by the monks in the 1180s and which they believed was King Arthur's[180]. But this can hardly help in dating the mausoleum[181].

An important part of the interpretation of the wattle (and stone) buildings turns on their relationship to the cemetery. Radford reasoned that as they fall within its bounds they must be oratories rather than domestic buildings. The extent and date of the cemetery itself, however, is not clear.

Two series of graves were found. The first group was found 7'- 8' below the modern turf, that is 4' into the natural clay. The second series was further divided into two groups: bodies enclosed in stone slabs and (a presumably later) group in wooden coffins. The second series lay 3'- 4' higher than the first and had been dug from 4'- 5' above the natural surface. Radford concluded that this second series was dug when the level of the cemetery was raised during Dunstan's abbacy (we have only William's word for this)[182]. The first series was then assumed to be earlier than the tenth century. Radford did not offer any dating sequence[183]. There is thus no conclusive dating for the cemetery and hence neither can there be for the wooden buildings.

There is some further doubt as to the extent of the cemetery. The early cemetery has been assumed to lie within the area of the later cemetery enclosed by St Dunstan[184]. This was defined on the eastern side by a range of buildings that may be of the tenth century and which later formed the west walk of the mediaeval cloister. A single grave was found some 50' to the east of this line[185]. If this grave, as Radford assumed, marks the eastern limit of the early cemetery, then all the post-holes would fall within the cemetery and hence possibly represent oratories or chapels[186]. But it is worth noting that this is the *only* grave found to the east, and a considerable distance away at that. If this grave is not part of the early cemetery, then the position of some of the post-holes would be

more suggestive of domestic buildings. This might then account for the later siting (directly above) of the domestic buildings in the late Saxon period and finally, of the mediaeval cloister[187].

In conclusion, there is no secure archaeological evidence for a British monastery at Glastonbury. What evidence there is might suggest that analogy with the site at Beckery is more appropriate. Radford's own conclusion, that the absence of in-fill from the ditch of the *vallum* suggests that the *vallum* itself dates from the time when the monastery was founded, supports the notion that the earliest foundation was Saxon.

Notes: Chapter Two

1) Cf. e.g., H.M.Porter, *The Saxon Conquest of Somerset and Devon* (Bath, 1967) and P.Rahtz and P.Fowler, 'Somerset AD 400-700', in *Archaeology and the Landscape*, ed. P.J.Fowler, (London, 1972), pp. 187-221. An important exception is W.G.Hoskins, *The Westward Expansion of Wessex*, Dept. English Local History Occasional Papers 13 (Leicester, 2nd ed. 1970), p. 5.

2) Rahtz is critical of his own work, 'The Dark Ages 400-700 AD', in *The Archaeology of Somerset*, ed. M.Aston and I.Burrow (Taunton, 1982), pp. 99-107. Cf. M.Welch, 'Rural Settlement Patterns in the Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon Periods', *Landscape History* 7 (1985), 13-25; P.Sims-Williams, 'The Settlement of England in Bede and the Chronicle', *ASE* 12 (1983), 1-41; I.Wood, 'The End of Roman Britain: Continental Evidence and Parallels', in *Gildas: New Approaches*, ed. M.Lapidge and D.Dumville (Woodbridge, 1984), 1-26.

3) See, e.g., G.Copley, *Archaeology and Place-Names in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, BAR 147 (1986), pp. 17-22; and C.Hills 'The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England in the Pagan Period: A Review', *ASE* 8 (1979), 297-329.

4) On the problems of chronology see D.Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 21-66; B.Yorke, 'The Jutes of Hampshire and Wight and the Origins of Wessex', in *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed S.Bassett (Leicester, 1989), pp. 84-96. Cf. F.Barlow, 'The English Background', in *The Greatest Englishman. Essays on St Boniface and the Church at Crediton*, ed. T.Reuter (Exeter, 1980), pp. 11-29 at 18.

5) The problem is posed by Porter (*Saxon Conquest*, p.14) but not solved.

6) But see Hoskins, *The Westward Expansion*, p. 5. He suggests that the Saxons did not arrive 'late' and further that they arrived by sea. Hoskins'

hypothesis needs further research. See P.Rahtz, 'Cannington Report', *Burial in the Roman World*, ed. K.Reece, CBA report 22 (1977), pp. 57-9. Cf. the remarks of R.Leech, 'Romano-British Settlement in South Somerset and North Dorset', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (University of Bristol, 1977), p. 267. *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A.Campbell (London, 1962), p. 11, records: *Sexto etiam anno aduentus eorum occidentalem circumierunt Britanniae partem quae nunc Uuest-Sexe nuncupatur.* Cf. the possible voyage around the Breton peninsula to the mouth of the Loire; E.James, *The Origins of France* (London, repr. 1987), p. 33 and map 1. The distribution of -ingas type names, and particularly the apparent group around Cannington extending as far as Glastonbury might repay further study. See below pp. 62-3.

7) A.H.Smith, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1956) I, map 2. Cf. also M.Förster, *Der Flußname Themse und seine Sippe*, Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Abteilung, 1 (Munich, 1941), pp. 99-108 at 101-2. See, however, the comments of M.Gelling, 'The Evidence of Place-Names I', in *English Medieval Settlement*, ed. P.Sawyer (London, 1979), pp. 110-21.

8) K.Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), pp. 208-09 and 239.

9) A.G.C.Turner, 'Some Somerset Place-Names Containing Celtic Elements', *BBCS* 14 (1950-52), 113-118; 'A further Selection of Place-Names Containing Celtic Elements', *BBCS* 15 (1952-54), 12-21; and 'Some Aspects of Celtic Survival in Somerset', *SANHS* 97 (1952), 148-51.

10) Personal communication from Dr O.Padel.

11) Padel does add the caveat that his arguments rely on the names identified by Turner and hence that if Turner has failed to identify a large number of names his (Padel's) arguments will need revision.

12) The problem depends upon where the settlers came from and where they landed. Although difficult to assess the role of mercenaries should also be considered; see Hills, 'Anglo-Saxon Archaeology'.

13) So argued by P.Rahtz, 'Pottery in Somerset, AD 400-1066', in *Mediaeval Pottery from Excavations*, ed. V.I.Evison *et al.* (London, 1974), pp. 95-126.

14) If we follow the Chronicle, Cynegils of Wessex was converted in 635 and Cenwalh in 646.

15) Cf. Rahtz, 'Cannington Report'; 'The Dark Ages'; and Rahtz and Fowler 'Somerset'.

16) Rahtz, 'Pottery'.

17) I.Burrow, *Hillforts and Hill-Top Settlement in Somerset in the First to Eighth centuries A.D.*, BAR 91 (1981), p. 164, fig. 30.

18) Rahtz, 'Pottery', p. 103.

19) See e.g. D.P.Dobson, *The Archaeology of Somerset* (London, 1931), pp. 182-83; Rahtz and Fowler, 'Somerset', p. 213. Cf. E.T.Leeds, *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1936), p. 111 ff. A square-headed brooch dated to the eighth century might belong to the fifth or sixth: I am grateful to Martin Welch for his advice on this; see his *Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex*, 2 vols, BAR 112 (1983) I, 72-4 and II, 633, fig.a.). Similarly a disc-brooch cf. Dobson, *The Archaeology*, p. 182 and Welch, *Sussex*, I, 85-9 and II, 577. See also those finds listed by Dobson, *The Archaeology*; Rahtz and Fowler, 'Somerset'; and cf. the dates offered by Hoskins, *The Westward Expansion*, p. 5 and e.g. Burrow, *Hillforts*, p. 273.

20) For a list of the forms see Appendix III. The lists provided by A.G.C.Turner, 'Notes on Some Somerset Place-Names', *SANHS* 95 (1950), 112-24 at 116 and Finberg, 'Ynyswitrin', in his *Lucerna*, pp. 83-94 at 92 are incomplete.

21) See, e.g., L.H.Gray, 'The Origin of the Name Glastonbury', *Speculum* 10 (1935) 46-53, with a scathing review by C.H.Slover, 'A Note on the Names of Glastonbury', *Speculum* 11 (1936), 129-32; although Slover did not deny that *Inesuuitrin* was an early name for Glastonbury. Cf. his 'Glastonbury Abbey and the Fusing of English Literary Culture', *Speculum* 10 (1935), 147-60.

22) Finberg, 'Ynyswitrin'.

23) E.Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford, 1960), *s.v.* Glastonbury.

24) 'Ynyswitrin', p. 92, n.1.

25) Turner, 'Note' pp. 116-18 and 'Selection', p. 16; E.Phillimore, 'The *Annales Cambriae* and the Old-Welsh Genealogies from Harleian MS 3859', *Y Cymmrodor* 9 (1888) 141-83 at 180.

26) Personal communication. Cf. O.J.Padel, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, English Place-Name Society 56 (Nottingham, 1988), pp. 104-5; *contra* Finberg 'Ynyswitrin', p. 92, n.1.

27) DA §4; E.W.B.Davidson, 'The Dynasty of Cunedag and the "Harleian Genealogies"', *Y Cymmrodor* 21 (1908), 63-104 at 100 ff; A.W.Wade-Evans, 'The Origin of Glastonbury', *Notes and Queries* 193 (1948), 134-35 and his *The Emergence of England and Wales* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 11-14. Elsewhere the personal name Glast is rare.

28) London, British Library, Harley MS 3859; on which see Phillimore, 'The *Annales*', p. 145. Cf. W.Davies, *Wales in the Early Middle Age* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 200-02. A *terminus ante quem* for the genealogies of 988 is given by P.C.Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966), p. 9. Cf. W.A.Nitze, *Le Haut Livre du Graal Perlesvaus*, 2 vols (Chicago, 1937) II, 45-72 at 50; who went so far as to suggest not only that William copied and

adpated the Harley genealogy itself, but also that the MS was originally at Glastonbury, *ib.*, p. 53, n.24 (for which there is no other evidence).

29) William's *Glasteing*, would have to be a corruption of *Glastening* the equivalent of *Glastenic* (Wade-Evans, 'The Origin', p. 134). The form *Glasteing* (or *Glastening*) does not appear in any earlier or later source.

30) The date he suggested for the floruit of *Iudnerth*, the last-named in the genealogy.

31) Davies, *Wales*, p. 100.

32) See the comments of D.Dumville, 'Kingship, Genealogies and Regnal Lists', in *Early Medieval Kingship*, ed. P.Sawyer and I.Wood (Leeds, repr.1979), pp. 72-104 and more specifically his 'Sub-Roman Britain: History and Legend', *History* 62 (1977), 173-92 at 178 ff.

33) Cf. Bede's rendering of the name Malmesbury, HE V, 18. According to Byrhtferth's Life of St Ecgwine the name of Evesham derived from the founder Eoves; M.Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the Vita S.Ecgwini', *Medieval Studies* 41 (1979), 331-53 and at 350 n.73 where Lapidge notes the similarity of Evesham and Glastonbury legends. Abingdon claimed an Irishman *Abbennus* as its founder; *Chronicon*, ed. Stevenson, I, 1-3. See also *Theokos* of Tewkesbury; W.Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, revised by J.Caley *et al.* 6 vols (London, 1819) II, 53 ff.

34) Finberg, 'Ynyswitrin', p. 94, after J.K.Wallenberg, *Place-Names of Kent* (Uppsala, 1934), p. 320.

35) As Edwards, *Charters*, p. 64.

36) J.Kemble, *The Saxons in England*, 2 vols. (London 1849) I, 449-86; E.A.Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest, its Causes and its Results*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1867) I, 50 n.2; Ekwall, *Place-Names*, *s.v.* Glastonbury; Turner, 'Notes'; Finberg, 'Ynyswitrin'; B.Cox, 'The Place-Names of the

Earliest English Records', *Journal English Place-Name Society* 8 (1975-6) 12-66 at 33 and 64-5.

37) J.M.Dodgson, 'The Significance of the Distribution of the English Place-Name in -ingas, -inga- in South-East England', *Medieval Archaeology* 10 (1966) 1-29.

38) Dodgson, 'Significance', p. 16 and cited by M.Gelling, *Signposts to the Past* (London, 1978), pp. 106-29. Cf. M.Gelling, 'Towards a Chronology for English Place-Names, in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. D.Hooke (Oxford, 1988), pp. 59-76 at 66.

39) On the problems of dating see further Welch, 'Rural Settlement', pp. 17-18.

40) Kemble, *The Saxons* I, 478; D.J.Pring, *The Saxon Conquest of Somerset* (Taunton, 1933), pp. 25-6. But cf. M.Costen, 'The Late Saxon Landscape', in *The Medieval Landscape of Somerset*, ed. M.Aston (Bridgewater, 1988), pp. 33-47 at 39, who observes that in a number of the place-names compounded of a personal-name plus *-ing-* plus *tun*, the *-ing-* denotes possession: hence these names are not to be classified with the *-ingas* type.

41) See Turner, 'Notes', p. 119. It should be noted that this form of the name survives only in the later MSS of Ine's privilege, S.250, MSS 1,2,3 and 8; but not in the earliest version MS 4, William's GR, where the name is *Ferremere.*

42) *Merlinge* likewise survives only in the later MSS of S.250. The GR version has *Merlinch.* This last is the form discussed by Ekwall, *Place-Names* and his *Studies in English Place and Personal Names* (Lund, 1931), s.v. Moorlinch.

43) 'Ynyswitrin', p. 94.

44) Cox, 'Place-Names', p. 33; he maintains the name as *Glaston* since he

follows Ekwall's derivation. It should also be noted that the earliest form of the name is *Glestingburh* and not *Glaestingabyrig*.

45) Cox, *ib.*

46) DA, §3, pp. 50-1.

47) Scott, p. 187.

48) The name *Urbs Glaestinge* can also be found in the eleventh-century *The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. D.Dumville and M.Lapidge (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 112. Cf. the *Urbs Vitrea* of the 'Vita Gildae of Caradoc of LLancarvan', ed. H.Williams in *Gildas De Excidio Britanniae*, 2 parts (London, 1899-1901), pp. 390-413 at 409; on *urbs* see further, W.Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm* (London, 1978), p. 122.

49) DA, §47, pp. 104-07.

50) *Glastonia* is first used in B's *Vita Dunstani*, c.1000. An explanation of how this form developed is given by G.Baist, 'Arthur und der Graal', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 19 (1895), 336-47 at 335 n.1.

51) Cox, 'Place-Names', p. 12.

52) *ib.*

53) *ib.* Cf M.Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape* (London, 1984), p. 35.

54) K.Cameron, *English Place-Names* (London, 1961), p. 113, considered that the name related to the Iron Age Lake Village itself. This would presuppose some continuity in settlement (as e.g. assumed by Ashe, *Arthur's Avalon*, pp. 22) but not so far demonstrated. See B and J.Coles, *Sweet Track to Glastonbury* (London, 1986), p. 182.

55) MSD, p. 7.

56) S.1666; see below §3.2.

57) See P.Rahtz 'Excavations on Glastonbury Tor, Summer, 1964-6', *AJ* 127 (1970), 1-81 at 4. On Ponter's Ball cf. J.A.Robinson, 'Memories of St

Dunstan in Somerset', *SANHS* 62 (1916), xxvii-xxxvii and 1-25; and on the name M.McGarvie 'Ponter's Ball', *SDNQ* 32 (1989), 758-59, where Ball means hill.

58) Robinson, 'Memories', pp. 4-5; GC I, 257, 303, 332.

59) 'Glastonbury Abbey', in *Quest for Arthur's Britain*, ed. G.Ashe (London, 1968), pp. 97-122 at 102-03. On the spiritual and legal role of boundaries see C.Thomas, *The Early Christian Archaeology of Northern Britain* (Oxford, 1971), p. 33.

60) S.236; the bounds have been discussed by G.B.Grundy, *The Saxon Charters and Field Names of Somerset* (Taunton, 1935), pp. 75-77 and have been mapped by M.Havinden, *The Somerset Landscape* (Bury St Edmunds, 1981), p. 87.

61) Cf. A. and C.Fox, 'Wansdyke Reconsidered', *AJ* 115 (1958), 1-48; Morris, *Age of Arthur*, p. 246 ff. and Alcock, *Arthur's Britain*, pp. 349-50.

62) LT 1; see §3.2.

63) F.Neale quoted in P.Rahtz and S.Hirst, *Beckery Chapel Glastonbury 1967-8*, (Glastonbury, 1974), pp. 11-12. One important exception should be noted, S.1253 (718) describes a church at *Martineseye*. See W.Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 259; J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People. A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 159; T.S.Holmes, 'The Conversion of Wessex', *EHR* 7 (1892), 437-443.

64) S.1666; see §3.2.

65) Cox, 'Place-Names', pp. 33, 58.

66) Finberg, 'Ynyswitrin', p. 92.

67) J.Campbell, 'Bede's Words for Places', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 99-119.

68) *Historicam Abbatum Auctore Baeda*, in Venerabilis Baedae, ed. Plummer I, 364-87 at 382 (§17).

69) Campbell, 'Bede's Words', p. 108.

70) Cf. the discussion of P.Rahtz, 'Monasteries as Settlements', *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5 (1973), 125-35; R.Cramp, 'Northumbria and Ireland', in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P.Szarmach (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 185-201.

71) HE IV, 26.

72) Tangl, no.78; trans. *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany*, ed. C.H.Talbot (London, repr.1981), pp. 129-34. Cf. Tangl, no. 73; EHD, no.177.

73) See the survey of R.Morris, *The Church in British Archaeology*, CBA report 47 (1983), pp. 40-5; W.Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement*, ed. M.Faull (Oxford, 1984), pp. 1-23; J.Blair, 'Minster Churches in the Landscape', in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. Hooke, pp. 35-58. Cf. E.James, 'Archaeology and the Merovingian Monastery', in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. H.B.Clark and M.Brennan, BAR Int. Series 113 (1981), pp. 33-55; and D.Parsons, 'Sites and Monuments of the Anglo-Saxon Mission in Central Germany', *AJ* 140 (1983), 280-321.

74) Rodwell, 'Churches', pp. 18-21. Cf. Muchelney; A.Elison, *Mediaeval Villages of South-East Somerset* (Bristol, 1983), pp. 75-6 and fig. 31. No excavation has been conducted there; for a brief history see H.M.Page, *Muchelney Abbey and Church* (Langport, 1925).

75) C.A.R.Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey before 1184: Interim Report on the Excavations, 1908-64' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions 4 (1981), pp. 110-34 at 114.

76) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 114; Radford, 'Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey 1956-7', *SDNQ* 27 (1958) 165-67.

77) The well is described as Roman by Radford, *ib.* Rahtz, 'Glastonbury Tor', p. 5, is more cautious.

78) P.Ellis, 'Excavations at Silver Street, Glastonbury, 1978', *SANHS* 126 (1982) 17-31. Ellis considers the date to be the 7th or 8th century.

79) Which is perhaps surprising if this part of the *vallum*. The report is, however, brief.

80) C. and N.Hollinrake in 'Somerset Archaeology 1986', ed. E.Dennison, *SANHS* 130 (1986), 141-61 at 151.

81) GC I, 272 and 303; evidence for Dunstan building at Glastonbury comes from B, MSD, p. 25: *Tunc ergo perprudens opilio, primum scepta claustrorum monasticis aedificiis caeterisque inmunitionibus....ex omni parte firmiter muniuiti*; William gives more details, discussed by J.A.Robinson, 'The Historical Evidence as to the Saxon Church at Glastonbury', *SANHS* 73 (1927), 40-9.

82) Burrow, *Hillforts*, pp. 165 and 185; Thomas, *Northern Britain*, pp. 23-47.

83) Ellis, 'Silver Street', p. 17; the two stakes had clearly chamfered ends. They may 'have belonged to a palisade structure along the top of the bank'. Ellis also notes the possibility of 'deliberate slighting of the ditch'. M.Aston, 'The Towns of Somerset' in *Anglo-Saxon Towns*, pp. 167-202 at 169, regards this as evidence of 'some sort of defensive activity in the mid-Saxon period'.

84) See for example, Radford, 'Interim Report'.

85) On the nature of the 'Celtic' church see K.Hughes, 'The Celtic Church -

is this a Valid Concept?', *Cambridge Celtic Mediaeval Studies* 1 (1981) 1-20.

86) Davies, *Wales*, p. 141 ff.; R.Sharpe, 'Some problems Concerning the Organisation of the Church in Early Mediaeval Ireland', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 230-70.

87) J.A.Robinson, 'The Saxon Abbots of Glastonbury', *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 26-57; 'Historical Evidence'; and *Two Glastonbury Legends*; Radford summarised in 'Interim Report'.

88) Cf. C.L.Wrenn, 'Saxon and Celt in South-Western Britain', *Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorian* (1959), 38-75 at 43 and 56; N.Chadwick, 'The Celtic Background of Early Anglo-Saxon England', in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. N.Chadwick (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 323-52 at 344; M.Deanesly, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England* (London, 1961), pp. 12-19; P.Hunter-Blair, *Roman Britain and Early England 55 BC - 871 AD* (London, repr. 1975), p. 242; F.Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, repr.1985), p. 69; J.Campbell, 'The First Christian Kings' in *Anglo-Saxons*, ed. J.Campbell (Oxford, 1982), pp. 45-67 at 52.

89) H.Taylor, 'Tenth-Century Church Building in England and on the Continent', in *Tenth Century Studies*, ed. D.Parsons (Chichester, 1975), pp. 141-68 at 158; B.Cherry, 'Ecclesiastical Architecture', in *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.Wilson (Cambridge, repr. 1986), pp. 151-200 at 158; M. and N.Ker, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Aylesbury, 1983), p. 62. See also the survey by C.Ahrens, *Frühe Holzkirchen in Nördlichen Europa* (Hamburg, 1981/2), p. 562, where the existence of the wooden church is accepted. Cf. also R.Cramp, 'The Artistic Influence of Lindisfarne within Northumbria' in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. Bonner *et al.*, pp. 213-28 at 218.

90) W.Rodwell, 'Review (E.Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, London, 1983)', *Medieval Archaeology* 29 (1985), pp. 237-38; and his paper 'Glastonbury Abbey in the Anglo-Saxon Period: the Archaeological Evidence' read at the St Dunstan Millenial Conference, Canterbury 1988.

91) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 64-5; L.Olson, *Early Monasteries in Cornwall* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 31. See further Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey.*

92) Cf. Scott, p. 2; R.Cramp, 'Monastic Sites' in *The Archaeology*, ed. Wilson, pp. 201-52, 'the literary evidence is the most copious if largely suspect' yet she accepts that the monastery existed by c.600 despite her doubts. Cf. P.Rahtz, 'Celtic Society in Somerset A.D. 400-700', *BBCS* 30 (1982-3), 176-200 at 188; a Christian monastery on the Tor might explain the 'persistance of legends of early Christianity at Glastonbury'.

93) On multiple estates see G.R.Jones 'Multiple Estates and Early Settlement', in *Medieval English Settlement*, ed. P.Sawyer (London, 1979), pp. 9-34 and N.Gregson, 'The Multiple Estate Model: Some Critical Questions', *Journal of Historical Geography* 11 (1985), 339-51. On Central Place theory see *Central Places, Archaeology and History*, ed. E.Grant (Sheffield, 1986) and especially M.Aston, 'Post-Roman Central Places in Somerset', pp. 49-78, therein. On continuity see J.Campbell, 'The Age of Arthur', in his *Essays*, pp. 121-30 at 137.

94) R.Leech, 'Religion and Burials in South Somerset and North Dorset', in *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain*, ed. W.Rodwell, BAR 77, 2 vols (1980) I, 329-65 at 340.

95) W.Rodwell, 'From Mausoleum to Minster: The Early Development of Wells Cathedral', in the *Early Church in Western England and Ireland*, ed. S.Pearce, BAR 102 (1982), pp. 49-59.

96) See Rahtz, 'Glastonbury Tor'; for more recent finds see N. and C.Hollinrake in 'Somerset Archaeology 1984-5', ed. Dennison, *SANHS* 129 (1985), 1-35 at 11 and Rodwell, 'Glastonbury Abbey'.

97) C.Thomas, 'Recognizing Christian Origins: an Archaeological and Historical Dilemma', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. L.A.S.Butler and R.Morris, CBA report 60 (1986), pp. 121-26 at 121.

98) Elsewhere he argues for *some* continuity; C.Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain to AD 500* (London, 1981). Cf. H.Williams, *Christianity in Early Britain* (Oxford, 1912) and the remarks of W.H.C.Frend, '*Ecclesia Britannica*: Prelude or Dead End?', *JEH* 30 (1979), 129-44.

99) See Olson, *Monasteries*, pp. 34-50. On Tintagel see C.A.R.Radford, 'The Celtic Monastery in Britain', *AC* 111 (1962), 1-24 and the reassessments by I.Burrow, 'Tintagel: Some Recent Problems', *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 5 (1973), 99-103; K.R.Dark, 'The Plan and Interpretation of Tintagel', *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 9 (1985), 1-18; and more recently, C.Thomas, 'The Context of Tintagel: a New Model for the Diffusion of Post-Roman Mediterranean Imports', *Cornish Archaeology* 27 (1988), and the articles in *Cornish Studies* 16, Tintagel Papers (1988). On Radford's work in the north see C.D.Thomas, *Church and Monastery in the Far North: An Archaeological Evaluation* (Jarrow Lecture, 1989).

100) C.A.R.Radford, 'The Church in Somerset Down to 1100', *SANHS* 106 (1962), 28-45 at 33.

101) Cf. S.Pearce, 'The Dating of Some Celtic Dedications and Hagiographical Traditions in South-Western Britain', *Trans. Devonshire Association* 105 (1973), 95-120 at 104-07; and S.Pearce, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia* (Padstow, 1978), pp. 128-38 and 192-94. See, however, the

distribution map of pre-Saxon cemeteries and Celtic dedications in Burrow, *Hillforts*, pp. 163-66 at fig. 30.

102) Deanesly, *Pre-Conquest Church*, pp. 18-19. Cf.D.P.S.Peacock, 'A Contribution to the Study of Glastonbury Ware from South-Western Britain', *Antiquaries Journal* 49 (1969), 41-61 and B.Cunliffe, 'Iron Age Settlement and Pottery 650 BC - 60 AD', in *The Archaeology of Somerset*, ed. Aston and Burrow, pp. 53-61.

103) See above n.99.

104) See the list in Olson, *Monasteries*, pp. 41-8.

105) *Cormac's Glossary*, ed. W.Stokes and J.O'Donovan (Calcutta, 1868); Olson, *Monasteries*, p. 31. The Glossary was compiled before 908, the date of the author's death.

106) How the Irish should have arrived via the English Channel is one problem. The phrase 'Glastonbury of the Irish', *nanGáidel*, appears only in later MSS; R.Thurneysen, 'Zu Cormacs Glossar', *Festschrift Ernst Windisch* (Leipzig, 1914), 8-37 at 24. See M.Lapidge, 'The Cult of St Indract at Glastonbury', in *Ireland in Medieval Europe: Studies in Memory of Kathleen Hughes*, ed. D.Whitelock *et al.* (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 179-212 at 183 n.24.

107) Olson, *Monasteries*, p. 31.

108) P.Rahtz, 'Irish Settlements in Somerset', *Proc. Royal Irish Academy* 76c (1976), 223-30.

109) See the discussions by C.Slover, 'Glastonbury Abbey'; A.Gransden, 'The Growth of the Glastonbury Traditions and Legends in the Twelfth Century', *JEH* 27 (1976), 337-58.

110) DA, §35, pp. 88-9. On Berhtwald see §3.

111) DA, §35: *Quis iste rex fuerit scedule uetustas negat scire..*

112) *ib., Cuius nomen Britannicam barbariem redolet..*

113) Finberg, 'Ynyswitrin'.

114) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 112.

115) Davies, 'Latin Charter Tradition', pp. 258-80.

116) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 64-5.

117) S.1207.

118) See the discussion in Appendix I.

119) On Thurstan's church and Herluin's which replaced it, DA §79, pp. 158-61. On wall-paintings see C.R.Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art. A New Perspective* (Manchester, 1982), pp. 92-4.

120) Finberg, 'Ynyswitrin', pp. 84-5.

121) DA, §19, pp. 66-69. It is perhaps remarkable that William does not allude to it further.

122) As n.11.

123) GC III, 701.

124) Robinson, 'Historical Evidence', p. 44.

125) GP, p. 196.

126) DA, §19, pp. 66-9.

127) GR I, 1; Scott, pp. 8-10.

128) Cf. Scott, pp. 21-3; Thomson, *William*, pp. 11-39.

129) Thomson shows William's comparative use of his sources, *William*, p. 14.

130) DA, §18; cf. GR I, 104 and GP, p. 354. See further C.Brooke, 'The Archbishops of St David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', in *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N.Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 201-242.

131) HE II, 14, 16.

132) See above nn. 88 and 89.

133) *Vita Dunstani Auctore Willelmi*, MSD, p. 271.

134) Contrast William's descriptions elsewhere; discussed in R.A.Brown, 'William of Malmesbury as an Architectural Historian', repr. in his *Castles, Conquest and Charters. Collected Papers*, (Woodbridge, 1989) 227-234.

135) B describes, *huic* (the apostolic church) *etiam aliud addiderunt* (the neophytes) *opere lapideo oratorium quod Christo eiusque Sancte Petro apostolico dedicauerunt*: MSD, p. 7.

136) DA, §19, pp. 66-9; in his description of the old church in this chapter nowhere does William describe it as made of wood. Whilst it is possible that a wooden church could have had a stone floor, it is precisely the absence of such a floor which makes it so difficult to excavate and define wooden churches in the first place. B tells of a story where the devil threw down a stone on Dunstan from the roof of the old church (MSD, p. 28). It is tempting to think that the story arose from an incident when a stone fell from a stone church.

137) Watkin discovered a Glastonbury seal dated to 1171x78, that is before the great fire of 1184 supposedly destroyed the wooden church. The seal gives a picture of the church at Glastonbury (before the fire), from the west end; A.Watkin, 'The Earliest Glastonbury Seal', *SANHS* 94 (1948), 157-58. Watkin saw this as a picture of the wooden church. But the three stories shown and the large buttresses on either side of the west face suggest a stone and not a wooden church. The seal might be part of a wider group identified by Heslop, which all have a pictoral representation of their respective churches. They are not, however, reliable witnesses to the structure and form of these churches; see T.A.Heslop, 'English Seals from the Mid 9th Century to 1100', *British Archaeological Association* 133 (1980), 1-16.

138) See M.Aston and R.Leech, *Historic Towns in Somerset - Archaeology and Planning* (Taunton, 1977), pp. 57-62. Problems have arisen not only from poor accounts of the excavations but also from doubts about the competence of one of the earliest archaeologists: see W.W.Kenawell, *The Quest at Glastonbury. A Biographical Study of Frederick Bligh Bond* (New York, 1965).

139) Rodwell, 'Review', p. 238.

140) Observed by Rodwell, 'Glastonbury Abbey'.

141) See pp. 153-56.

142) MSD, p. 25

143) See Robinson, 'Historical Evidence'.

144) William declines to write about the contemporary Abbot Henry of Blois (DA, §82, pp. 162-65); about whom the monks would obviously know.

145) DA §68, pp. 138-41.

146) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 112.

147) *ib.*, p. 115. Cf. C.A.R.Radford, 'The Earliest Irish Churches', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 40 (1977), 1-11.

148) Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey 1956-7', p. 166 and Radford, 'Church in Somerset', p. 32.

149) Rodwell, 'Churches', 18-21.

150) Thomas, *Northern Britain*, pp. 29-31.

151) Something Radford was prepared to concede in his earlier reports but not later ones.

152) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 115.

153) They do, however, suggest almost continuous occupation of the island on one site or another.

154) For varying interpretations see Rahtz, 'Glastonbury Tor', pp. 1-7; Burrow, *Hillforts*, p. 156; Rahtz, 'Celtic Society', p. 188. On the 'Mound'

see J.Carr, 'Excavations on the Mound, Glastonbury, Somerset, 1971', *SANHS* 129 (1985), 37-62.

155) Rahtz, 'Glastonbury Tor', p. 65; Carr, 'Mound', p. 47.

156) Rahtz and Hirst, *Beckery*, pp. 27-34.

157) *ib.* p. 37. The inference derives largely from the fact that the majority of the bodies are male.

158) Radford in, *Arthurian Sites in the West*, ed. C.A.R.Radford and M.Swanton (Exeter, 1975), p. 46. There does not appear to be evidence to support Radford's conjecture, given that Rahtz thought the cemetery to have been from the same period and that 1) Roman pottery found there was secondary and 2) no Mediterranean imported pottery was found, only mid-Saxon pottery.

159) Rahtz and Hirst, *Beckery*, p. 37. The dating of 'period 1' at Beckery depends upon the absence of imported Mediterranean pottery (hence after c.600), as well as on the C14 date for one of the skeletons.

160) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 112.

161) For the passage in question see D.Parsons, *Books, Buildings: Architectural Descriptions before and after Bede* (Jarrow Lecture, 1987), p. 20. For the *Vita* see R.Sharpe, 'Vitae S. Brigitae: the Oldest Texts', *Peritia* 1 (1982), 81-106. On the authenticity of the passage, Thomas, 'Christian Origins' p. 123.

162) Ahrens, *Holzkirchen.*

163) Cf. Robinson, 'Historical Evidence', pp. 47-9.

164) For which see Thomas, *Northern Britain*, p. 48 ff.

165) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 115.

166) C.A.R.Radford, 'The Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey 1951-4', *SDNQ* 27 (1955), 21-4 and 68-73.

167) Radford, 'Excavations, 1951-4', p. 21.

168) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 124, 'its removal disclosed two series of post-holes'.

169) 'Interim Report', p. 111. Cf. his earlier report which this flatly contradicts, Radford, 'Excavations, 1951-4', p. 21.

170) Further post-holes were found ('Excavations, 1951-4', p. 69) but no details were given. Aston and Leech (*Historic Towns*, map 24) show that the post-holes were also found under the line of the later cloister.

171) References to the size of the buildings vary; 'Church in Somerset', p. 32; *Arthurian Sites*, p. 39; 'Interim Report', p. 115.

172) Radford, 'Church in Somerset', p. 33.

173) C.A.R.Radford, *The Pictorial History of Glastonbury Abbey, The Isle of Avalon* (Andover, 1973), pp. 4-5.

174) Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey', p. 105 and see 'Interim Report', p. 115, where he regardeds these oratories as confirming the tradition that the earliest church was a building of wattles. Hence by implication Radford still considered the oratories to belong to a pre-Saxon date. Cf. the comments of K.Hughes, 'Evidence for Contacts between the Churches of the Irish and English', in *England before the Conquest*, ed. P.Clemoes and K.Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 49-67 at 57: 'Dr Raleigh Radford dates the foundation of the Christian settlement in the valley to the period before the Saxon conquest in the mid seventh century, on the evidence of wattled oratories and two mausolea. He may well be right, but the closest parallels for the mausolea are with seventh-century Gaul, and how does one decide whether the post-holes of the wattled buildings (from which no full plan can be recovered) were made by Englishmen or Irishmen?'

175) Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey', p. 106.

176) C.R.Peers and A.W.Clapham, 'Glastonbury Abbey Excavations, 1928', *SANHS* 74 (1928), 1-9.

177) Dobson, *Archaeology*, p. 182, plate 5.

178) See e.g. S.Mageson, 'Worked Bone', in J.G.Load and A.D.F.Streeten, 'Excavations at Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk, 1972-77: County House and Castle of the Norman Earls of Surrey', *AJ* 139 (1982), 138-301 at 241-55.

179) Radford, 'Glastonbury Abbey', pp. 106-08.

180) He was careful not to say this was what he believes, but the implication of his argument is that the grave was contemporary with or slightly later than the mausoleum and hence of a pre-Saxon date.

181) On the improbability that Arthur was buried at Glastonbury see Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends*, pp. 1-27.

182) For discussion of the cemetery cf. the reports from 1951-4 with that from 1981. The details are not altogether clear. Radford assumed the rise in level to be tenth-century because of a passage in William's Life of Dunstan: MSD, p. 272.

183) Rahtz and Hirst, *Beckery*, p. 37.

184) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 115.

185) 'Interim Report', p. 123.

186) 'Excavations, 1951-4', p. 70.

187) This grave was, however, found at a 'low level'. But its isolation is curious. Other isolated graves have been found but they are adjacent to the mediaeval church.

CHAPTER THREE

The Seventh-Century Foundation

In the previous chapter I argued that there is no reliable evidence for the existence of a pre-Saxon monastery at Glastonbury. In this chapter I shall consider the evidence of the earliest extant charters. I will argue that the earliest charter S.227 is a forgery of the late tenth century or early eleventh century and that the earliest grant which might have been genuine was that of Centwine to Haemgils, possibly for the foundation of the monastery. I will then pursue a number of questions about the development and extent of the monastery in the seventh century and about how far it was affected by the political instability of the period. Bede's famous observation that *acceperunt subreguli regnum*[1] might be reflected both in the foundation of the abbey itself and in the status of its earliest patrons.

3.1 S.227

S.227 is a charter purporting to date from 670, and recording a gift of Cenwalh to *Beortwald*, abbot of Glastonbury, of land at *Ferramere*. Robinson concluded that despite certain problems with the charter, it preserved fragments of a genuine charter of the seventh century[2]. His conclusions have subsequently been largely accepted[3], with the notable exception of Edwards, whose argument I support, that the charter is entirely the product of a later period. I shall first discuss why Robinson believed that the charter had some authentic basis.

The proem of Cenwalh's charter is unusual in that it is composed of a quotation from a pre-Vulgate bible, I Tim. 6,7: *Nihil intulimus in hunc mundum uerum nec auferre quid possumus*, followed by the phrase, *ideo terrenis celestia et caducis eterna mercanda sunt*[4]. This in itself is suggestive of an early feature, since a scribe writing later would have been more likely to have used the Vulgate version, although it is not conclusive evidence since the same pre-Vulgate proem was used in the tenth century. The earliest charter to survive with this proem is in an eighth-century hand, from Worcester and dated 759[5]. The Glastonbury version is much simpler and, therefore, perhaps less likely to have been copied from a later exemplar. The quotation continues to appear in its pre-Vulgate form in charters of the tenth century at Abingdon and Winchester (but not Glastonbury), where the biblical quotation is incorporated into much longer proems, in contrast to the early period[6].

It is also significant that the formula is found in charters of the seventh century in two different archives (Glastonbury and Malmesbury) and again in charters of the eighth century at Malmesbury and Worcester. It is unlikely that a forger would work from different archives[7]. The fact that there was interest in the same biblical quotation in the tenth century, shown by its appearance in some charters of that century, might suggest a context for postulating that the proems of the seventh-century charters were later forgeries. But it is clearly important that those monasteries using the formula in the tenth century were not those in which the seventh-century charters survived. In the latter monasteries, Glastonbury and Malmesbury, there seems to have been no later interest in this particular proem. Further, as Kemble long ago pointed out the same quotation can be found in the Frankish formula-book of Marculf, written in the seventh or

early eighth century, which might suggest a possible origin for the phrase[8]. Several other formulae of Frankish origin appear in early West Saxon charters, though not especially in Glastonbury ones[9].

Thus there are compelling arguments in favour of accepting that the proem was used in charters of the seventh century. Further, the proem apparently fits into the wider pattern of the development of the use of biblical quotations conveying a similar sentiment in West Saxon charters[10].

Edwards argued that two further features of this charter suggest authenticity. Firstly, the invocation, *Regnante ac gubernante nos dno nostro Ihu Xpo.* This is also used at the council of Hertford in 672 and possibly derives from Roman documents such as Gregory the Great's grant to St Andrew's, 587. Secondly, the *dispositio*, is simple and brief: *libenter largior* is a phrase common in early West Saxon charters[11].

All of these features when considered together might suggest that there is some genuine basis to Cenwalh's charter. But, as Robinson was well aware, the invocation, proem and dispositive clause (*libenter largior*) can all be found in identical words in another Glastonbury charter S.1249 (AD 692), a grant by Bishop Headdi to the abbot, also of land at *Ferramer'*, as well as land at *Lantokal*. There are two possibilities: either that charters for a single house were produced to formulae, or that one of the two charters was copied from the other. It is almost impossible to know how far formulae were used.

The suspicion that Cenwalh's charter was compiled using material from S.1249 is strengthened by the fact that S.227 also contains passages that can be found verbatim in a grant of privileges by Cuthred to Glastonbury (S.257, for 744/5). The passages which are copied include a corroborative clause followed by the sanction and attestation:

S.227	S.257
Corroborauimus nunc crucisque signo confirmato hoc donatiuum stabili iure gratum et ratum *decerno durare quamdiu uertigo poli terras atque ecora circa ethera siderum iusso moderamine uoluet*	Corroborata...crucisque signo confirmatum hoc donatiuum stabili iure gratum et ratum regnum *predictorum decerno durare quamdiu uertigo poli terras atque ecora*[12] *circa ethera siderum iusso moderamine uoluet.*
Si quis autem nisus fuerit huius mee donacionis testamentum confringere aut adimere conatur, *ipse acrius multatis sit infernalis ergastuli pena demersus* quam eo demon uel diis dampnatorum parauit.	*Si quis autem huius mee donacionis testamentum nisus fuerit confringere ..adimere, ipse acrius multatus sit infernalis ergastuli in pena demersus uiolencieque sue presumpcionem luat* in euum. Amen.
Ego Cenwalli basilleos Westsaxon' proprie manus subscripcione sancte crucis designaui effigiem ut nemo qui se regeneratum in Xpo nouerit huius largicionis *donum mutare presumat.*	Ego Cuthredus *rex Westsaxona*[13] *proprie manus subscripcione sancte crucis designaui effigiem ut nemo qui se regnaturum*[14] *in Xpo nouerit, presumat mutare hanc donacionem.*

The problem is deciding which charter comprised material borrowed from the other. S.227 omits the words *regnum predictorum*, understandably because the kings have not been mentioned before, but the omission renders *gratum et ratum* redundant. Hence S.227 might have been adapted from S.257.

Moreover, none of these passages in S.227 has any exact parallel in seventh-century charters, in contrast to some of the elements of S.257 which can be found in a group of charters belonging to the eighth century; for example, in the sanction and subscription[15]. If the passages do represent genuine charter diplomatic then a later date would seem more appropriate. The verbose and inflated style of the charters is reminiscent of Aldhelm's style; the phrases *gratum et ratum, iusso moderamine*, were used by him and all of the obscure words can be found in his works[16]. But S.227 is more akin to the forged charter attributed to Bishop Leuthere and composed of Aldhelmian phrases than to Ine's charter of privileges composed in a *style* not unlike Aldhelm's[17]. Leuthere's charter employs elaborate phrasing for its own sake, the sense of which is not always immediately clear, where Ine's charter does not.

The remaining features of the charter can also be questioned. Cenwalh is described as *basilleos*. This term, whilst it was used by Aldhelm, was not commonly used as the king's title until the tenth century, where it appears first in the charters of Athelstan[18]. The second dispositive verb, *dabo*, is not used in early West Saxon charters, where the grant is usually recorded in the past tense and stands in contrast to the first dispositive verb, *largior*[19].

The beneficiary of the charter S.227 is named as abbot *Beortwald*. Edwards used this as evidence that the charter was forged since she notes that Berhtwald was not abbot until after Haemgils, that is after 693[20]. But the evidence for this rests largely on S.227 and hence the charter must be shown to be a forgery before it can be said that Berhtwald was not abbot in 670.

Berhtwald has caused some difficulty as the abbey claimed that he went on to become archbishop of Canterbury. Robinson, assuming that the charter was genuine, described a possible sequence of events to explain Berhtwald's move to Canterbury and to reconcile Bede's statement that Berhtwald was abbot of Reculver before becoming archbishop, with no mention of Glastonbury[21]. Independently of the charter, it is difficult to know whether Berhtwald was abbot of Glastonbury or whether he became archbishop and there is a danger of a circular argument that uses the charter to establish Berhtwald's abbacy as fact and then takes the existence of this important abbot to corroborate the charter. It is possible that the name was simply taken from another charter in the archive, such as S.248, recording land given to *Beruuald*. This later name may, then, have given rise to the Glastonbury tradition that he went on to become archbishop; alternatively, the knowledge that there was an archbishop so named may have influenced the choice of the scribe. The abbey certainly claimed from William of Malmesbury's day an extraordinary number of archbishops as having come from Glastonbury[22].

The DA provides more information about an Abbot Berwald in ch.39: *Anno ab incarnatione Domini DCXC Ina dedit Hemgislo abbati Brente x hidas; quam terram Berwald abbas sponte propria deseruit et sine nostra uiolencia et sine expulsione locum proprii cenobii dimisit, et contra interdictum et uoluntatem pontificis nostri discessit.*

This passage has been used to explain Berhtwald's move to Reculver and as a convenient means for explaining how Ine could grant Brent to Glastonbury when Arthur is previously recorded as having given the land[23]. The passage also fulfills an earlier promise in another heavily interpolated chapter, to explain Berhtwald's departure[24].

It is not, however, certain to whom the passage refers. William makes the distinction in the DA between the earlier abbot Berhtwald and the later abbot Berwald[25]. The difference in the names is slight and may have led to confusion and error. But support for the spelling of the later abbot can be found in the charter S.248, and in Willibald's Life of Boniface which refers to *Beoruuald*[26]. This stands in contrast to the tenth-century abbatial list where the compiler recorded a Berhtwald in fourth place.

In the passage quoted from §39 the order of events is by no means clear. It might just as easily mean that Ine gave the land to Haemgils and *then* at a later date Berwald lost the estate; *deserere* is in the perfect rather than the pluperfect tense. Further, William simply uses the verb *dare* of Ine's gift to Haemgils and not *reddere*, as might be expected were the gift a restitution and as William uses it elsewhere[27].

Robinson considered the passage to have been taken from a charter, presumably concerning Brent[28]. But the extant charter for Brent makes no mention of this episode. It is conceivable that William used a different version of this charter than that which survives, as he does in the case of Haeddi's gift to Haemgils. Yet in the latter instance there is other evidence that two versions of the same charter did exist, where there is none in the case of Brent[29]. More likely William was recording a Glastonbury tradition concerning the estate at Brent and one which may have given rise to later confusion over the names of the Abbots Berhtwald and Berwald.

There is then no independent evidence to support either the notion that the first Saxon abbot at Glastonbury was called Berhtwald or that this man went on to become archbishop. Equally this cannot be used to judge the charter since it is impossible to prove independently that he was not an

abbot of Glastonbury. However, given that the elements of Cenwalh's charter that have not obviously been interpolated at a later date are all problematic and that those features which might belong to the seventh century are paralleled in S.1249, it is reasonable to suppose that the charter is a later fabrication.

If S.227 is taken to be a forgery then some explanation of the choice of donor and beneficiary is needed as well as some explanation of the motive for the scribe's work. There are two good reasons why a charter should have been fabricated in Cenwalh's name. First Cenwalh would have been well known through Bede's *Historia*; he was one of Bede's exemplary kings, his worldly success being directly attributed to his acceptance of Christianity[30]. Cenwalh is also mentioned in the Chronicle and in Stephanus' *Life of Wilfid*[31]. He was, like his lesser known father, one of the first West Saxon kings to convert to Christianity, and hence he was one of the earliest kings to whom a grant might be ascribed. Second, he was known to have granted land in Berkshire, to have helped Benedict Biscop and, importantly, to have built a church at Winchester[32]. Indeed, Winchester's claim to the patronage of Cenwalh gave it an antiquity that could not be matched by Glastonbury's promotion of Ine as a patron. Competition may have inspired the Glastonbury scribe of S.227, in the way it did the authors of later foundation legends. This reason may also have prompted the Sherborne scribe to forge a grant of privileges in Cenwalh's name[33], (c.671) and the Winchester scribe to concoct a charter recording a grant of Cenwalh's to Winchester, which is entirely a conflation of later material[34]. In fact no genuine grant of Cenwalh's does survive[35].

S.227 may have been intended as an enhanced version of S.1249, since the same land at *Ferremere* (Mere) is granted. But unlike Bishop Headdi's

grant, that of Cenwalh uses far more prestigious names and would thus add greater weight to the abbey's claims to antiquity. Edwards has observed that in the LT there is a record of two charters granting Leigh-in-Steet. One of these may refer to Headdi's grant (S.1249) of Mere and Leigh and just possibly the other may be a lost charter for Leigh written at the same time, and for the same reasons, as Cenwalh's adapted charter for Mere[36].

Thus the earliest charter evidence for Glastonbury is provided not by S.227 but by the lost grant of Centwine's to Abbot Haemgils, 678.

3.2 Centwine's grant of 6 hides at Glastonbury

Centwine's grant of 6 hides at Glastonbury was the oldest to have survived in the abbey's archive. As Bishop Stubbs first suggested, this raises the possibility that it was a foundation charter[37]. As such, it would be extremely important for establishing the origin of the monastery at Glastonbury, not only because this would give a foundation date considerably later than has hitherto been thought, but also because so little is known generally of the foundation of West Saxon monasteries. A further implication would be that Haemgils was the first abbot, and that Centwine was the abbey's first patron.

Unfortunately, the charter, dated 678, does not survive. The grant is listed first in the LT:

Carta Kenwini de insula Glastoniae;

only a brief description of the charter is given by William in the DA (§37) and in his forged charter of Ine (§42). It is necessary to determine whether the grant is genuine. William's account of the charter is not altogether clear and it may be that he has conflated the texts of three

different charters of Centwine which survive independently: a grant at Glastonbury, a grant of Pennard (S.236) and a grant of Quantock Wood (S.237)[38]. William, however, does not always distinguish between the charters that he records. In the following chapter, for instance, concerning the grants of the sub-king Baldred, he lists three grants but then apparently quotes from only one text. Either William was not particularly careful to distinguish between the texts, or in the case of ch.37, he was using an existing conflation[39].

There is another copy of part of Centwine's grant of Glastonbury in a text which is certainly a later conflation of material. This is the pancarta of Ine composed by William himself. The two passages are as follows:

DA §37, *Huic* (Haemgils) *anno ab incarnatione Domini DCLXXVIII Kentuuinus rex Glastingai liberas ab omni seruicio concessit vi hidas. Quem, pro sua fideli conuersacione et episcopi Hedde et monachorum peticione, abbatem ibi constituit ea tamen condicione, quatinus fratres eiusdem loci habeant ius eligendi et constituendi rectorem iuxta regulam sancti Benedicti. 'Et iuxta siluam', inquit, 'que uocatur Cantucdun, xxiii hidas.... ad supplementum uitae regularis in monasterio Glastingabiri, sub diuini timoris instinctu humiliter largitus sum.'*

S.250, *Chentwinus (rex) qui Glastingeie matrem sanctorum uocare solitus fuerat et eam ab omni seculari et ecclesiastico obsequio immunem statuit et hanc priuilegii dignitatem concessit ut habeant fratres eiusdem loci potestatem eligendi et constituendi sibi rectorem iuxta regulam sancti Benedicti*[40].

Of §37 that part from *et iuxta* has clearly been taken verbatim from S.237. The sentence concerning Haemgils' election may have been taken from

S.236, where perhaps William added the clause referring to the Rule of St Benedict: *cum consensu pontificis nostris Haeddi qui etiam eundem uenerabilem Hamgilsum, Centwine rege consentiente, ibidem abbatem pro sua fideli conuersatione constituit.* The elaboration of the exemptions from service given in S.250 may have been William's own and served his purpose to establish royal (and papal) immunity for Glastonbury. Whilst the text of the charter is problematic, that part which may have constituted Centwine's grant and which will be discussed below, runs: *Kentuuinus rex Glastingai liberas ab omni seruicio concessit vi hidas.* The reference to land at Glastonbury is, notably, that part omitted by William from his forged charter of Ine.

The reference to the freedom from service may be a later addition. Edwards has argued that such freedom was not introduced into Wessex until the privilege of Ine c.704 (S.245)[41]. But Ine's general grant of immunity is remarkable because it represented a large-scale attempt to free a number of monasteries from secular burdens, the same burdens as those felt in the late seventh century; and it is quite possible that an immunity for a single community could have been granted earlier. It is worth noting that in the mid-seventh century a number of immunities were granted to Frankish houses; one such to St Denis provided that the abbey should be *liber et absolutus ab omni debito*[42].

In the laws of Wihtred (written c.695) the church is granted freedom from *gafol*, which might mean taxation or service - though not necessarily a pecuniary one[43]. It is, therefore, not impossible that a king granted such a right shortly before this date, especially if Wihtred's laws are taken to have encapsulated what was traditional practice before 695.

The word *servicium* is used in a charter of Whitred's (S.18), dated 697 which states that the grant is made *absolutam ab omnium secularium dominorum servitio*[44]. This charter may reflect Wihtred's generosity in granting an immunity soon after his laws.

Yet exemptions granting freedom from service appear rarely in early West Saxon charters and where they do occur the charters concerned are difficult to accept as they stand: S.255 (739) is arguably the earliest grant of an individual immunity[45]. The phrase *liberas ab omni servicio* does appear in charters which purport to belong to the seventh century but it does not appear in reliable charters until the ninth century[46]. The phrase was used in the Glastonbury cartulary in a grant of 963, *ab omni regali servicio libera*[47]. It should finally be remarked that William himself might have added the phrase as he did when recording a gift of Eadwig. In this latter case, the charter is extant and does not use the phrase[48]. A further comparison of William's descriptions of charters suggests that he had a number of stock phrases which he used to describe grants to the monastery, of which *ab omni servicio* might have been one[49]. Comparable use was made of this phrase by the compiler of the Christ Church cartulary[50]. It is difficult to conclude certainly for or against this phrase's authenticity and it, therefore, cannot help in assessing the authenticity of the evidence for/of Centwine's grant.

There is little of the charter left by which to judge its authenticity but there are four important points in its favour. Firstly, the grant is for 6 hides of land where, by the eleventh century, the abbey claimed 12 hides for its Liberty[51]. Were the charter a forgery it would have been compiled considerably before the Liberty of the 12 hides was claimed, that is, strictly, before 1086, but probably earlier. The charter was thus

probably composed before the eleventh century[52]. Secondly, the grant of land is made by Centwine who is not a forger's obvious choice of grantor. He is mentioned briefly in the Chronicle, *s.a.*676 and 682, in the first of Aldhelm's *Carmina Ecclesiastica* and by Stephanus in his *Vita Wilfridi*. But he is not mentioned by Bede in his HE where there is a significant account of the break-up of the West Saxon kingdom on the death of Cenwalh, Centwine's predecessor. Cenwalh would be a more obvious choice for a forger, as S.227 would suggest[53].

The third consideration in favour of the charter concerns the place-name which is preserved in both the DA and S.250; *Glastingai* and *Glastoningeie*, respectively. Both names represent what may be the oldest form of the name Glastonbury. It would be unlikely that a later writer would use this form, preferring the more common and later forms, *Glaestingabyrig* or the latinised *Glastonia*[54]. If Centwine's charter is a later fabrication it is surprising that while Cuthred's charter refers to Glastonbury as the *urbs*, monastery, of the island of the *Glaestinga*, Centwine's charter omits the word *urbs*. This omission might be explained by the fact that the monastery had not yet been built. Alternatively, it might be argued that William simply left part of the name out, but this would be surprising in view of the fact that he uses the full phrase in his copies of S.246 and 257.

Finally and most importantly, it is difficult to see what a forger would gain by fabricating a charter granting land at Glastonbury itself. Forgers were concerned to claim lands that they felt the abbey owned or should own, but this is quite different from fabricating a claim to the land on which the monastery stood - the island of Glastonbury itself. It is difficult to see what circumstances could have made such a forgery

necessary. If it is argued that the forgery was part of the monastery's claim to antiquity then why was Centwine chosen as donor? In chosing this king, the abbey would effectively have limited the scope of its claim to the late seventh century and yet by the late tenth century B recalls the apostolic origin of the monastery. The scarcity of forged foundation charters surely reflects just this point. More likely the abbey would have forged a charter of privileges as the monks did for the later reigns of Ine, Cuthred, Edmund, Edgar and Cnut.

Since Centwine's grant is of land at Glastonbury itself, the possibility that it was a foundation charter should be considered. Edwards has argued that William is unlikely to have omitted to identify it as such had this been so[55]. Further, she points out that William describes the grant of Cenwalh to Berhtwald before that of Centwine and hence apparently does *not* take the later grant to be a foundation charter. Edwards goes on to suggest, however, that Centwine's charter does represent a genuine grant of land at Glastonbury, and that it was possibly a restoration of land lost to the invading pagan Saxons. But there are two objections to be made to Edward's view. First, her own argument can be turned against her: William makes no mention of any restoration as we might suppose he would have done had he either had such information or made such an inference himself. The omission would be the more surprising as the assertion of prior ownership was thought to add weight to the beneficiary's claim[56]. Secondly, Edward's argument assumes that there was a monastery at Glastonbury before the arrival of the Saxons, and this I have argued to be doubtful.

The problem remains, however, that if this was a foundation charter William is silent on the matter. But such a statement raises a fundamental question: what should a seventh-century foundation charter look like? The answer is, in fact, far from clear. Very few charters have survived that purport to be foundation charters and fewer still survive for the major religious houses of the Anglo-Saxon period. Of some 99 known monasteries in existence prior to c.700, charters recording the foundation exist for only 6[57]. This lack of a foundation charter may have prompted Abingdon to produce a fabricated one at later date[58]. An alternative to this was to fabricate a charter of privileges and attribute it to an early king, as happened at Sherborne[59]. How do we explain this apparently poor survival rate? It may be that interest in establishing early origins for a house did not occur until late in the Saxon period by which time such charters had been lost. It might also be important that of those monasteries for which we have foundation charters, only two survived the ninth century[60]. The remaining charters, therefore, pertained to defunct monasteries, and hence their survival can be attributed to their being title-deeds and not to the fact that they were foundation charters.

Assuming that such charters did exist would they necessarily have followed a standard form? Given both the scarcity and possible diversity of such charters, one might wonder whether William would have recognised a seventh-century foundation charter. On the one hand he would have been familiar with the foundation charters of his own day, which could be altogether more elaborate than those of the early Saxon period[61]. On the other hand the allegedly characteristic feature of the early foundation charters, namely the use of the phrase *ad construendum monasterium*, does not occur in every case. A grant by Frithuwald to Chertsey Abbey mentions,

only incidentally, that the monastery was built some time before, but the grant includes land at Chertsey itself and hence is apparently a foundation charter[62]. Similarly, Eorconwald granted land at Barking to Barking Abbey which he had already built[63]. In other words grants which were in effect foundation charters were later confirmations of land to monasteries that already existed[64]. It is thus clear that a monastery could be built before a charter was issued in its favour[65]. This raises the possibility that the phrase *ad construendum monasterium* was not always necessary in cases where the monastery already existed and that a charter of confirmation might be, in effect, one of foundation.

It may be that the use of the phrase was more a stylistic device than a necessity and used by some *scriptoria* and not others. A possible alternative to the phrase was *ad augmentum monasterium*, used in OEdilred's gift to the abbess of Barking of land at Barking and perhaps reflecting the practice of Eorconwald's scriptorium at St Paul's[66]. It does not seem certain that a foundation charter would have needed to use the words *ad construendum monasterium* and, indeed, Bede's letter to Ecgbert implies that foundation charters were not necessary in order to establish *Eigenkirche*[67].

If William was used to reading foundation charters it is possible that he simply overlooked the words *ad construendum monasterium* in a charter where perhaps he least expected them. As I have argued, William was capable of wilfully misleading his readers in the matter of the antiquity of the church, and it may be that he deliberately over looked the phrase in Centwine's charter[68]. In this context, it is worth asking why William does not give the charter in full. He claimed that the grant offered Glastonbury immunity but unlike his practice with regard to all the other charters granting immunity, he gives only a brief extract of Centwine's charter[69].

It is possible that the charter William saw was neither the original, nor an accurate copy, and both interpolations and omissions had already been made. Later interest in the antiquity of Glastonbury might suggest that a supposed foundation in the seventh century would have been unwelcome, if at all credible.

Whatever explanation is used to explain William's silence on the matter, the fact remains that the grant was of land at Glastonbury which would suggest a confirmation of a foundation charter, if not such a charter itself.

The grant was for 6 hides of land which would suggest a small taxable area of land, presumably the island of Glastonbury[70]. There is no indication of exactly what area the grant covered, although the entry in the LT refers to the island of Glastonbury. In this the grant is comparable to those others of the seventh century where islands were given to the monastery[71].

The initial grant of Glastonbury was small when compared with other foundations of the the late seventh century. Hart has suggested that 300 hides was suitable provision for a major monastery in this period, pointing out that 300 hides was the assessment of a small kingdom in the Tribal Hidage[72]. He cites the evidence for Gloucester/Pershore, Malmesbury, Wenlock, Chertsey and Barking[73]. The foundation charter for Gloucester would provide the clearest evidence for this hypothesis since the grant is for exactly 300 *tributarii* to Gloucester and 300 *cassati* to Pershore but the charter is dubious and uncertain as evidence for this period[74]. A distinction should also be made between those foundations which received their land initially and those which accumulated the land over a period of

time. Chertsey and Barking provide evidence of the former and Malmesbury evidence of the latter.

One of the most significant gifts to Malmesbury was 132 hides by Caedwalla[75]. He was not a benefactor of Glastonbury - the foundation of Centwine with whom he contended for the throne. Where Malmesbury could claim nearly 300 hides by c.700, Glastonbury could claim at most about 73 hides[76]. As the large grants of Caedwalla have been attributed to his military success, so also have the grants of Centwine been associated with his western expansion. Yet it is worth noting that he gave to Glastonbury at most a total of 29 hides at Glastonbury and on the Quantocks[77]. Certainly Glastonbury stands in contrast to the great monasteries of Barking, Chertsey and Malmesbury; and it is surely no coincidence that these three monasteries had support not only from kings but also from great ecclesiastical patrons, like Eorconwald and Aldhelm[78]. Indeed, the largest grant which Glastonbury claimed for the period before the tenth century was 70 hides from Bishop Wilfrid.

3.3 Haemgils

There is some evidence to suggest that Haemgils was the first abbot of Glastonbury and the beneficiary of the putative foundation charter. As the founding abbot it might be expected that he was closely connected with Centwine or the royal family but this is not easily demonstrated. There are, however, some indications of his importance to the monastery.

According to William, Haemgils was abbot for 25 years[79]; a calculation possibly based on the first and last grants he was said to have received: the 6 hides at Glastonbury in 678 and the privilege of Ine dated 704[80].

William's evidence, however, was based upon a version of Ine's privilege which had been adapted to apply only to Glastonbury. The original charter was witnessed by Haemgils' successor, Berhwald and hence it cannot be certain that Haemgils was alive in 704[81]. He received four grants, which are extant, dated 681, 682, 692 and 693[82]. Thus it can only be certain that he was abbot from 678 to 693.

Haemgils is not a common name. Three such men are recorded in the Durham *Liber Vitae*: an anchorite, a cleric and a monk[83]. One Haemgils also appears in Bede's *HE*[84]. Slover went so far as to identify this Haemgils with the abbot of Glastonbury[85]. While these two could have been contemporaries it is unlikely that they were one and the same, for Bede, who heard the story of Drycthelm from Haemgils, makes no mention of his association with Glastonbury. Further, Bede says that Haemgils lived near Drycthelm (at Melrose) during the reign of Aldfrith (c685x705). Thus it appears to be inconsistent with notion that he was abbot of Glastonbury at the same time. Finally, Bede's Haemgils was still alive when the *HE* was written; were he the quondam abbot of Glastonbury he would be an old man indeed. It is possible that Slover believed the men to be the same because Bede's Haemgils was said to have lived in Ireland and hence for Slover there was some common Celtic connection with Glastonbury.

Haemgils was certainly abbot of Glastonbury for some 15 years in which time he received at least 4 extant grants and 3 lost ones[86]. These represent a considerable acquistion of land for the abbey amounting to some 73 hides. Haemgils' importance is suggested by several further points.

William provides the significant detail (as he does not for any abbot until Dunstan) that Centwine himself appointed Haemgils as abbot[87]. This would be in keeping with the notion that the king's involvement in the

foundation went beyond that of the initial gift of land. It might suggest that the king wished to maintain an interest in the monastery. Yet William's source for this information may have been the charter S.236 (681), a gift of Baldred to Haemgils. In contrast to William's rendering, this charter attributes Haemgils' election to Bishop Haeddi, with the consent of the king. This would be important evidence of Haeddi's involvement in the foundation of Glastonbury, but S.236 is, again, questionable. The charter itself whilst employing a number of early features was written in the early tenth century and hence the possibility of later adaptation cannot be ruled out[88]. The phrase referring to the election of the abbot is suspicious as such digressions are not usually associated with charters purporting to date from before the tenth century. What this charter does reveal, I think, is that by the early tenth century there was some interest at Glastonbury in the abbot Haemgils. This is a reflection of tenth-century perceptions but perhaps also indirectly reflects Haemgils' importance in the late seventh and early eighth century.

Although William considered Haemgils to be the second Saxon abbot (on the testimony of S.227), the tenth-century compiler of an abbatial list for Glastonbury placed Haemgils first[89]. Robinson showed at some length that the list is untrustworthy for the early period[90]. Some of the names were placed in the wrong order and others were mis-spelt or are elsewhere unattested. It is only in the tenth century that the list becomes credible. But the list at least tells us that the late tenth-century compiler thought that Haemgils was the first abbot. Moreover, in the tenth century there was some interest in the origin of the abbey and it is, therefore, significant that Haemgils and not the supposedly more illustrious Berhtwald was chosen to head the list.

Haemgils was evidently held in particular reverence at Glastonbury in the tenth century. The passage, in S.236 describing him as *venerabilis* is probably part of the tenth-century interpolation. Further, the grant of privileges by Cuthred (S.257) is said to have been promulgated *in lignea basilica qua fratres abbatis Hengisli sarcofagum sorciuntur.* Again, this passage, which is appended to the charter, can hardly be regarded as genuine; but it offers a further indication that in the tenth century Haemgils was considered important enough to have been accorded such an honour[91]. He is the only abbot recorded as being buried in the old church and as such kept the illustrious company of SS. Patrick and Indracht[92]. It is also worth noting that Haemgils was chosen as the recipient of the adapted grant of privileges from Ine[93].

One further detail should be considered. The sanction of S.257 (744/5) reads:

*Si quis autem huius mee donacionis testamentum nisus fuerit confingere uel gressum pedis uobis hengissingum traditum uberemque glebam extra terminos prefixos uel definitos limites seu constitutos (fines) adimere..*etc.

Edwards quotes from a translation of Professor Brooks: 'but if anyone shall have endeavoured to destroy the witness of this my donation or to remove a foot's step given to you of the Haemgilsingas, and a rich clod beyond the prefixed bounds and defined and constituted limits..'[94].

If *hengissingum* is a corruption of *Haemgilsingas* then the author of this passage clearly saw those at Glastonbury as Haemgils' people. It is not, however, clear when this expression would have been used. If the passage was written after the abbacy of Dunstan, then perhaps the community would, if anything, have been regarded as Dunstan's. Yet the description of

Haemgils' burial in the wooden church was, I think, interpolated in the late tenth or early eleventh century[95]. It may also be significant that the passage does not survive in the version given by William in his *Gesta Regum*[96]. It survives only in the DA and the later GC[97]. In its place the GR version has an anathema identical to that in S.1410 (744) and of a type found in several mid seventh-century charters[98]. The GR might, then, preserve an earlier form of the charter, in which case the phrase was added after c1135-40 and possibly by one of William's later redactors[99].

The phrase is interesting because it refers to the people of Haemgils. In its most general sense the word *Haemgilsingas* would mean the community under Haemgils as its founding father, but it might suggest Haemgils' actual family and descendents comprised the community. Given the date of the material it must be treated as evidence of a later (possibly twelfth-century) perception of Haemgils. Yet, *a priori*, monasteries were founded as family concerns and although there is no evidence, to suggest consanguinity either between Haemgils and Centwine or Haemgils and his successors, the possibility cannot be ruled out[100]. Indeed, Centwine as founder of the monastery presumably influenced the choice of its first abbot and if he did not promote a relation then at least Haemgils was Centwine's man.

The association between these men can be taken a step further. William, in the GR, recorded that the name of Centwine could be read on one of the 'pyramids', which, if it refers to the king of that name, would suggest that he was buried at Glastonbury[101]. Aldhelm tells us that Centwine retired to a monastery, but unfortunately he does not say where[102]. If Centwine did retire to Glastonbury it is one of the clearest

indications of his support and interest in that monastery. He would also have retired to be a monk under Haemgils.

The foregoing material is scant at best and difficult to use as evidence for the date to which it purportedly belongs. Nevertheless, it seems to lend some support to the notion that Haemgils was appointed as the first abbot of Glastonbury and was still accorded a special place in the abbey's muniments in and after the tenth century.

3.4 Wilfrid

The political background to Centwine's reign is important both for what it reveals about that king's actions and also for the light it casts upon the patronage and early development of Glastonbury.

The period following the death of Cenwalh is obscure. According to Bede: *Cumque mortuus esset Coinualch, quo regnante idem Leutherius episcopus factus est, acceperunt subreguli regnum gentis, et diuisum inter se tenuerunt annis circiter decem..*[103]

This has been taken to indicate on the one hand that there was more than one contender for the throne (or more than one throne) and on the other that no one king dominated[104]. In contrast the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle provides a relatively clear picture of the succession from Cenwalh, Seaxburh, Æscwine to Centwine, but, as Dumville has argued, this might represent a ninth-century reconstruction of seventh-century events[105]. The details of Centwine's succession and his retirement must, therefore, remain in doubt. In fact the Chronicle does not state when he retired, only that Caedwalla began to contend for the throne in 685[106]. Other contenders for the throne may have included Baldred, perhaps one of Bede's *subreguli*. But

Aldhelm, closer to the events than Bede, mentions only Centwine, Caedwalla and Ine, as rulers of Wessex, in the third of his *Carmina Ecclesiastica*[107]. Perhaps already Aldhelm was 'editing' the events, but it is difficult to see why he should have omitted someone like Baldred if he considered him in any way equal in status to Centwine; and indeed in his letter to Wynbert Aldhelm refers to Baldred as *vester rex*[108].

Aldhelm describes Centwine:

qui prius imperium Saxonum rite regebat/ Donec praesentis contemnens culmina regni/ Diuitias mundi rerumque reliquit habenas/ Plurima basilicis impendens rura nouellis/ Qua nunc Christicolae seruant monastica iura[109].

This is striking, less because of Centwine's title (Caedwalla and Ine are similarly described) than because it is direct evidence that Centwine gave lands to the church and built new churches[110].

Having been founded by Centwine in 678, Glastonbury next received land from Baldred in 681. The charter was copied and adapted in the early tenth century but it nevertheless preserves some elements of an original charter of Baldred[111]. It is unlikely that a forger would have used the name of such an obscure king by choice; no mention of him is made by Bede or the Chronicle[112]. In the charter he is styled *rex* and yet Centwine also claimed that title[113]. Chadwick suggested that the solution lay in the fact that Baldred was a ruler of Somerset and as such fell under the greater authority of Centwine, ruler of Wessex[114]. An obvious problem here is that Baldred also gave land in Wiltshire to Malmesbury and, following Chadwick, might just as easily be called a ruler of that area[115]. It is also worth recalling Aldhelm's description of Baldred as the king of Wynbert, abbot of Nursling in Hampshire[116]. The balance is not quite so equal: Baldred is recorded as having given four estates in Somerset to Glastonbury (at West

Pennard, Brent, Montecute and a fishery on the Parrett) but only one (on the Avon) to Malmesbury and there is no other record of his connection with Hampshire[117]. Yet it would be safer to conclude that whilst Baldred was a powerful nobleman in Somerset he also held lands elsewhere and that whilst his influence was perhaps greater in Somerset than in Wiltshire, this cannot be taken to indicate that he was ruler of that region.

The same arguments can be used of Centwine. His only extant grant is for land in Somerset, as are three lost grants of his[118]. It is just possible that he gave land to Malmesbury[119]. Indeed, apart from the (late) regnal lists, the only indications that Centwine may have been more powerful than Baldred come from the latter's charter to Malmesbury, where the gift was made with the consent of Centwine, and from Aldhelm's *Carmina.* Thus there were two contending powers in Somerset, and Glastonbury was the object of their patronage.

It is striking that Baldred was prepared to support the foundation of Centwine. This might suggest that there was no hostility between the two men: if Glastonbury was under Centwine's control, then in giving land was Baldred tacitly acknowledging the authority of his rival? Further evidence might be sought in William's account of Baldred's gift of Pennard which records Centwine's confirmation, but the passage was apparently adapted from S.236 into which a reference to Centwine was interpolated. The answer depends upon how Glastonbury was perceived: was it a monastery of great significance both as a powerful landlord and as great religious centre, and did Centwine continue to influence or control the activities of the monastery? While Centwine's influence, certainly over the election of abbot, might be assumed, the position of Glastonbury cannot. In fact the evidence discussed above might rather suggest that the monastery was not of

any great consequence at this time. In that case, Baldred's grants should perhaps be seen more as those of a rival seeking to compete for the patronage of the monastery and the benefits thereby gained in the form of prayers and revenue[120].

Two important grants are recorded as having been made by Centwine to Bishop Wilfrid. Neither of these survives and hence judgement of their authenticity is difficult. In the 1247 lists of single-sheet charters the following are recorded[121]:

Carta Kenelmi de Wethmor facta Wilfrido epicopo.

Carta dicti Wifridi de eodem facta Beorwaldo abbati. G.

Cenewre rex de Clifwere.

Wilferfus rex de Cliwere. inutilis.

The LT (no. 10) has, *Wilfridus episcopus de Clifuuere. G.*

William records,

Eidem abbati (Beorwald) dedit Wilfridus episcopus insulam de Wethmor lxx hidas, a rege Kenwino sibi datas, et uillam de Cliwere i hidam.

Clearly, Centwine made two grants of land to Wilfrid, one at Wedmore and one at Clewer. The estates are adjacent, Wedmore probably comprising the 'island' of Wedmore, excluding one hide at Clewer in the north-eastern part of the 'island'. If this is so then the separate single hide at Clewer is curious. An explanation of this might take into consideration the fact that Hythe and Cheddar were directly opposite, across the river Axe, and that there may have been an important river crossing[122].

Stephanus in his *Life of Wilfrid* provides a plausible context for the grant, when Wilfrid was exiled in c.681 and travelled south[123]. As he later came to the aid of Caedwalla[124], so Wilfrid may have helped Centwine with his considerable wealth, receiving land in return[125]. It may be significant

that Wilfrid did not immediately relinquish the estates to Glastonbury; if he left in a hurry and on poor terms with Centwine he would hardly have made so great a gift to that king's monastery[126]. The problem of forgery has to be considered.

Wilfrid was a well-known prelate[127] and two outstanding forgeries of the tenth century recorded grants of Caedwalla to Wilfrid of Pagham and Selsey[128]. If Glastonbury monks found in their archive two grants of Centwine to Wilfrid then perhaps they attempted to forge charters from Wilfrid to Berwald, in an attempt to claim the estates. This, of course, is to assume that the royal charters were genuine; but since there were later charters claiming to be gifts of Wilfrid to Beorwald, there would have been no point in forging an earlier royal charter. Rather, a forgery comparable to the Pagham charter might be expected where the grant was made by the king to the bishop and a post-script added to the effect that the charter was subsequently given to the archbishop; or perhaps a charter would be forged where the bishop gave directly to the abbot but with the consent and/or confirmation of the king. It is thus difficult to make sense of all four charters if they were all forgeries. More probably the royal charters were genuine and the later charters were forgeries. There are, however, three arguments which might be offered in favour of the episcopal gifts to Glastonbury.

First and least conclusive, there is no record of a dispute. The estate of Wedmore was owned by the king in the ninth century, when it is described as a *villa regis*. Alfred bequeathed the land to Edward. By DB the estate was held by Giso, bishop of Wells, but the manor was part of the royal estate of Cheddar[128]. Clewer was owned by the Bishop of Coutances in 1086, but custumaries of 1189 and 1235-52 show that the estate rendered

food and the tenants held land from the monastery[129]. While such silences are not conclusive, the case might be compared with others in the Glastonbury archive where repeated attempts were made to regain lost land[130]. But this argument works both ways: if Glastonbury had a good claim to the land would they not have pursued it?

Secondly, the contents of the grants should be considered. The gift of 70 hides is of a comparable size to those others made to Wilfrid and recorded by Bede and Stephanus[131]. This might reflect an early date for the composition of the charter, since the estate probably comprised the whole island except Clewer and yet by Domesday the estate of Wedmore (by then some two-thirds of the island) was only 10 hides[132]. But this is inconclusive: it does not account for the one hide of Clewer and the argument could be used only of the royal charters from which the later episcopal charters could have taken the information. More promising is the argument that since the two estates were adjacent, forming a single unit, then perhaps a forger would have been more likely to have forged one charter claiming both estates. Certainly pancartae were often forged[133].

Thirdly, there is the beneficiary of Wilfrid's supposed gifts. Since the royal grants were made in the reign of Centwine, why forge charters that date from 704x709 rather than charters that date from Centwine's reign? If the episcopal charters were forged then surely Centwine's charters would have given royal support to Glastonbury's claim that the estates then passed into their hands? In fact the choice of Beorwald as beneficiary adds weight to the argument that the charters were genuine. Other Glastonbury forgeries are in favour of more illustrious abbots such as Haemgils or Berhtwald[134], abbots who did not alienate estates. Unless it is supposed that the forger had a good sense of historical awareness and

knew well his *Vita Wilfridi*[135] it is difficult to explain, other than by assuming the charters to have been genuine, how he could have known not to date the forgery to Centwine's reign but rather to the period when Wilfrid appears to have been keen to settle his affairs. It is exactly the period 705x9 when Wilfrid might be expected to have made his gifts to Glastonbury; that is, following his illness and wish *domos suas ad disponendas possessionesque diuidendas*[136].

Notes: Chapter Three

1) HE IV, 12.

2) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', pp. 47-53.

3) With the exception of Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 20-3.

4) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', pp. 51-3; cf. the use of Mat. 25,34 in Kentish charters of the eighth century and ninth century: Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 229.

5) S.56, *s.viii med.* The other charters are, SS.230, 232 (the doubtful Pagham and Selsey charters); SS.71/73, 234, from Malmesbury; SS.227, 1249, from Glastonbury; SS.52, 63, Worcester; SS.100, 103, 104, on which see Scharer, *Königsurkunde*, pp. 174-75, 184 and 235 n.35; S.49, Chichester.

6) SS.410, 682, 689, 734, Abingdon; SS.718, 771, 825, Winchester. Cf. Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 53 and Scharer, *Königsurkunde*, p. 235 n.35.

7) Although the links between Malmesbury and Glastonbury in the tenth century and the twelfth century (via William of Malmesbury) should perhaps caution against such a conclusion.

8) Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus* I, xvi; *Marculfi Formularum Libri Duo*, ed. A. Uddholm, (Lund, 1962) I, 14. On the date of Marculf see P.Fouracre, '*Placita* and the Settlement of Disputes in later Merovingian Francia', in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. W.Davies and P.Fouracre (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 23-43 at 24.

9) Levison, *England the Continent*, pp. 226-28; E.John, *Land Tenure in Early England* (Leicester, 1960), pp. 8-9; Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 12-3; Wormald, *Charter Evidence*, pp. 18-19.

10) Cf. Cor. iv,18 in the Glastonbury charter S.237 and two Malmesbury charters SS.255, 53. On the 'literacy' arenga see Wormald, *Charter Evidence*, pp. 9-11. The Eorconwald group is distinct from Kentish charters

and *pace* Wormald is more likely to have developed *from* West Saxon charters and not *vice versa*; the evidence turns on the respective dates of SS.1164 and 1165, neither of which, however, can be fixed exactly.

11) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 18-19; John, *Land Tenure*, pp. 8-9.

12) *Aequora*, in GR I, 40.

13) *Westsaxonum*, in DA, §45, p. 104; *Westseaxana* in GR I, 40.

14) *Regeneratum*, DA, §45, p. 104 and S.227 (GC II, 365-6. Cf. *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, MGH, Auctores Antiquissimi XV (Berlin, 1919), index, *s.v. regeneratum.*

15) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 48-52; and see below §4.

16) *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 320, l.2, 312 l.16; p. 388 l.83.

17) On Bishop Leuthere's grant see Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 85-7.

18) *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, *s.v. basileon* - but only in a biblical context; Cf. *Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin*, ed. Howlett *et al*, *s.v.*; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 353; H.Kleinschmidt, *Untersuchungen über das Englische Königtum im 10. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1976), p. 66 ff.

19) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 310. For the witnesses of the charter: *ib.*,, p. 21.

20) *ib.*, p. 21.

21) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', pp. 28-9.

22) DA, §67, pp. 136-39.

23) DA, §39, pp. 92-3.

24) The passage in §39 uses the possessive *noster* when describing the abbey which might suggest that William was not the author; Scott, p. 198.

25) DA, §§39, 40, pp. 92-7, *Beruuald*; DA, §§36, 37, pp. 90-1, *Berthuuald*. The list of abbots added to the DA has *Beorhwaldus* for both the first and third abbots. Berwald is recorded as abbot in 705 (S.248) and again in a

letter which cannot be earlier then 709 (Tangl, no.7). His successor is recorded in 712 (S.1253).

26) *Vitae Sancti Bonifacii*, ed. W.Levison, MGH Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum Scholarum 57 (Hannover, 1905), p. 14.

27) DA, §§57, 63, pp. 118-19, 130-31.

28) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 29 n.1, assumes the passage derives from a now lost charter, but there is no evidence for this.

29) Haeddi's charter survives, S.1249, but it differs in several respects from the details provided by William, DA, §38, pp. 90-3. The LT 5,6 recorded two versions of this charter.

30) HE III, 7; IV, 12.

31) ASC A, s.a. 643, 645, 646, 648, 652, 658, 660, 661, 672; *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. B.Colgrave, (Cambridge, 1927), p. 8.

32) Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, p. 367. On the evidence for his building see B.Yorke, 'The Foundation of the Old Minster and the Status of Winchester in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 38 (1982), 75-83.

33) O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, pp. 1-3.

34) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 131-32.

35) Cf. DA (§36, pp. 90-1) which records a charter purporting to be a grant of Cenwalh. It appears, however, to be a later interpolation into William's text: Scott, p. 197.

36) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 22-3.

37) Stubbs, *A Dictionary of Christian Biography*, ed. W.Smith and A.Wace, 4 vols (London, 1877-87) II, *s.v. Hemgislus*.

38) Cf. Appendix II.

39) As Robinson suggests, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 29 n.5; but given William's method of working it seems to me more likely that he conflated the material.

40) The version of S.250, cited, is that from GR I, 36-9; and the addition in brackets is recorded in DA, §42, pp. 98-103.

41) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 66.

42) For Ine's privilege (S.245) see below chapter 4. For St Denis see *Diplomata, Chartae, Epistolae, Leges aliaque Instrumenta ad Res Gallo-Francicas Spectantia*, ed. J.M.Pardessus, 2 vols (Paris, 1843-49) II, 95-7 and for the royal confirmation of this episcopal grant see *Diplomata* I, ed. G.H.Pertz, MGH (Hannover, 1872), pp. 19-20. On such privileges see E.Ewig, 'Das Privileg des Bischofs Berthefrid von Amiens für Corbie von 664 und die Klosterpolitik der Königen Balthild', *Francia* 1 (1973), 62-114; and J.L.Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels: Brunhild and Balthild in Merovingian History', in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), pp. 1-48.

43) F.L.Attenborough (ed.), *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, (Cambridge, 1922), p. 24.

44) S.18; F.E.Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, (Manchester, 1952), p. 457. This charter evidence is, however, from Kent and not Wessex.

45) *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, ed. A.S.Napier and W.H.Stevenson (Oxford, 1895), pp. 37-46; N.P.Brooks, 'The Development of Military Obligations in Eighth- and Ninth-Century England', *England Before the Conquest*, ed. Clemoes and Hughes, pp. 69-84; Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 255-58, argues against the charter.

46) The phrase, or variations, appears e.g. in SS.22, 31, 90, 111, 155, 168, 179, 188, 209, 299, 329, 335, 341, 370, 477, 498, 513, 538, 545, 554, 570, 625, 667, 697, 721, 731, 752, 798, 816, 1172, 1210, 1212, 1259, 1438, 1610, 1611, 1615-19, 1623, 1625-6, 1631, 1638 etc. See also Davies, 'Saint Mary's', pp. 468-69.

47) Cf. Glastonbury charters, SS.270a, 462, 498, 513, 721; in each case the three common burdens are reserved.

48) S.626; DA, §58, pp. 120-21.

49) See Appendix II.

50) The earliest Cartulary dates from the twelfth century: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 189. See e.g. S.155 a copy of an earlier version, where the latter does not preserve this phrase. Cf. SS. 1259, 1615-16, 1618, 188, 1623, 1438, 1625 etc. See the comments of Brooks, *Early History*, p. 221.

61) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 30.

52) Since the grant is recorded in the LT, the date of the latter provides a *terminus ante quem* for the production of the charter; that is a date in the late tenth or early eleventh century (see §1.2).

53) Centwine's name may not have been 'chosen'. The hypothetical forger could have used an existing charter of that king which perhaps bore no relationship to Glastonbury's endowment.

54) See §2.2 and Appendix III.

55) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 66.

56) Hence the need to forge charters in the first place. The Glastonbury privileges edited by William claimed rights from several different kings from Centwine on; cf. Appendix I.

57) For the list of foundations see Morris, *The Church*, pp. 36-8. The charters are SS.1165, 235, 252, 45, 1171, 53. On the lack of foundation charters see M.A.Meyer, 'Patronage of the West Saxon Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *RB* 91 (1981), pp. 332-58 at 341.

58) S.241.

59) S.228; O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, pp. 1-3.

60) Barking and Chertsey, although both were said to have suffered under the Viking invasions.

61) Cf. V.H.Galbraith, 'Monastic Foundation Charters', in his *Kings and Chroniclers* (Old Woking, 1982), viii, 205-25, for examples.

62) S.1165.

63) S.1246; C.Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 122-27.

64) Galbraith, 'Foundation Charters'. This might reflect the nature of the charters themselves: Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 34, argues, that charters were dispositive, but the evidence he adduces is that they were, *a priori*, produced by a central agency. Whilst this may be true of the tenth century, the charters of the seventh and early eighth century were not demonstrably so produced; and they refer specifically to the ceremony of giving where the *cespites* were placed upon the altar; cf. EHD, p. 376.

65) As demonstrated by Galbraith, 'Foundation Charters', p. 214.

66) S.1171; D.Whitelock, *Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London*, Chambers Memorial Lecture (London, 1974), pp. 5-11.

67) Bede, *Epistola Baede ad Ecgberctum Episcopum*, in *Venerabilis Baedae Historia*, ed. Plummer I, 405-23.

68) See above §§1 and 2.

69) The charter is recorded together with the other (forged) Glastonbury

privileges of Ine, Edmund, Edgar and Cnut. In a dispute over jurisdiction Thurstan was said to have recited (*memoriter retexens*) these charters; DA, §76, pp. 154-57.

70) For the possibility of 'beneficial hidation' see Finberg, ECW, pp. 230-32, who argues that the beneficial hidation of Chilcombe can be traced back to a grant of Alfred; but the evidence is that of S.946 a writ of Æthelred II - Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 373-80. Cf. F.W.Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge, 1897), pp. 264, 448; citing evidence from DB. There appears to be no evidence for the seventh century.

71) Cf. SS.1249, 238,

72) Hart, *Charters of Eastern England*, p. 118 n.6.

73) The charters are: Gloucester, S.70; Malmesbury, S.1170, S.231 and less certain SS.71/73, 1169, 234 (on which see Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 90-100); Much Wenlock, SS.1798-1802 (cf. Finberg, ECW, pp. 201-06); Chertsey, S.1165; Barking, S.1171.

74) S.70; cf. Finberg, ECWM, pp. 153-66 with Scharer, *Königsurkunde*, pp. 146-48. Comparison of these figures also assumes that the 'hides', *cassati, tributarii*, from different kingdoms, were assessed on a comparable basis.

75) S.231; Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 97-100.

76) S.1249, 5 hides; S.1666, 6; DA §38 16 + ?1; S.236, 6/12; S.237, 23; S.238, 10.

77) S.1666 and S.237.

78) See below §4.3.

79) DA, §37, pp. 90-1. He received grants, according to William, in 678 and 704 which is inconsistent with the calculation of 25 years (although not if the dates are inclusive). The interpolated list of abbots given (DA, §71, pp. 146-49) gives Haemgils' dates as 680x705 and calculates the reign as 25

years. It may then be that the calculation of 25 years was added by the later compiler of the abbatial list rather than by William.

80) S.1666 and S.245.

81) Cf. DA, §40, pp. 92-7 (B.109) and S.245.

82) SS.236, 237, 1249, 238.

83) *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. H.Sweet, The Oldest English Texts, EETS 83 (London, 1885), pp. 153-66 at 155 (51), 159 (202), 163 (338). The *Liber* is dated c.840 by M.Brown, 'The Lindisfarne Scriptorium from the Late Seventh to the Early Ninth Century', in *St Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner *et al*, pp. 151-63 at 162. Cf. H.Hahn, 'Die Namen der Bonifazischen Briefe im *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*', *Neues Archiv für Ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 12 (1887), 111-27 at 126; but none of the Haemgils are described as abbots. It cannot be certain that the three names listed in the *Liber* belong to different men.

84) HE V, 12.

85) C.H.Slover, 'Glastonbury Abbey', pp. 149-50.

86) See above nn. 81-3.

87) DA, §37, pp. 90-1.

88) See below p. 360 and n.160.

89) As Stubbs noted, *Dictionary of Christian Biography, s.v. Hemgislus.*

90) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots'.

91) On the wooden church, see above §2. Edwards suggested that the *sarcofagus* indicated a tomb above ground and a hence a sign of the dead man's sanctity; Edwards, *Charters*, p. 40. Cf. the tomb of Tyccea on which William could read the epitaph; DA, §47, pp. 104-07.

92) Cf. DA, §§10, 20, pp. 60-1 and 68-9.

93) S.246.

94) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 46.

95) See above p. 78 and Appendix I.

96) GR I, 40.

97) DA, §45, pp. 104-05; GC I, 142.

98) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 48-52. She omits the evidence of GR, *ib.* p. 50.

99) For the creation of an *-ingas* folk-name in the thirteenth century, see Dodgson, 'The Significance', p. 3.

100) Cf. the evidence cited by P.Wormald, 'Bede,"Beowulf" and the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy', in *Bede and Anglo-Sxaon England*, ed. R.T.Farrell, BAR 46 (1978), 32-90 at 52 ff.

101) GR I, 25 and cf. DA, §31, pp. 83-5. F.Krüger, *Königsgrabkirchen der Franken, Angelsachsen und Langobarden bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1971), pp. 256-57, without apparent regard to the Glastonbury claim assigns Centwine's burial to Winchester. But cf. the comments of Yorke, 'The Foundation'.

102) *Carmina Ecclesastica* III, *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 14-18 at 15, l.13. Aldhelm uses the word *Cella.*

103) HE IV, 12.

104) Cf. *Venerabilis Baedae Opera*, ed. Plummer II, 220-21; C.Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest* (London, 1910), p. 289; H.Chadwick, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions* (New York, 1905), pp. 282-90; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 68; P.Sawyer, *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (London, 1978), pp. 45-50; J.Campbell, 'Bede's *Reges* and *Principes*', in his *Essays*, pp. 84-98; I.Wood, 'Kings, Kingdoms and Consent', in *Medieval Kingship*, ed. Sawyer and Wood, pp. 6-29 at 19; Dumville, 'Chronology of Early Wessex', pp. 21-66.

105) Dumville, 'Chronology of Early Wessex, p. 52 ff.

106) ASC AE 685.

107) *Carmina Ecclesiastica* III, *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 14-18; which provides the only evidence that Centwine retired.

108) *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 502-03. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England, p. 68 n.3, perhaps goes too far in saying that Aldhelm's statement proves that Centwine was overlord of the whole West Saxon kingdom.

109) *Carmina Ecclesiastica* III, *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 14, l.3-7.

110) Aldhelm does not say the same of Ine or Caedwalla. On *imperium* see the comments of Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the origin of the *Gens Anglorum*', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P.Wormald (Oxford, 1983), pp. 99-129 at 107-09.

111) See below p. 366 and n.160; Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 11-15.

112) He is known only from charters and Aldhelm's letter.

113) Cf. S.237.

114) Chadwick, *Studies*, pp. 282-90, at 288-90; cf. Campbell's 'shifting hierarchy' in his, '*Reges* and *Principes*', p. 95. But it is debatable as to how far the *reges* can be equated with ealdormen (and particularly those of Ine's laws). Cf. A.Thacker, 'Some Terms for Noblemen in Anglo-Saxon England, c.650-900', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, ed. D.Brown *et al.*, BAR 92 (1981), 201-36, at 202. The arguments also assume that one king was dominant, or seen to be dominant.

115) S.1170; Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 94-7.

116) *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 502-03.

117) S.236, S.238 (a grant of Ine's which refers to a previous grant of Baldred's), DA, §38, pp. 90-3 and S.1170.

118) S.237, land at Glastonbury, Wedmore and Clewer (DA, §§37, 40, pp. 90-1 and 92-7). He also granted land to an unnamed layman at *Elosaneg* (LT 4). Since this place-name includes the element *-ieg*, it may refer to an island on the Somerset Levels.

119) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 100.

120) For the advantages of patronage see below §4.

121) Lists C1, C2, A17, A20; LT 10; DA §40.

122) Other grants associated with rivers and fisheries were apparently of one hide; cf. the estates along the Axe noted below §4.3.

123) On exiles see, Campbell, 'Christian Kings', p. 56 and P.Wormald, 'The Age of Bede and Æthelbald' in *Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Campbell, pp. 70-100 at 94. William, from a twelfth-century point of view, saw Wilfrid offering his advice, horsemen *equitatus* and money *pecunia*, GP p. 233. Cf. the remarks on William and Wilfrid of D.H.Farmer, 'Saint Wilfrid', in *Saint Wilfrid at Hexham*, ed. D.P.Kirby (Newcastle Upon Tyne, 1974), 35-59 at 36. William's comments would not be out of place for the continent in the seventh century; on bishops cf. James, *The Origins*, pp. 49-63. On Wilfrid's continental connections see E.Fletcher, 'The Influence of Merovingian Gaul on Northumbria in the Seventh Century', *Medieval Archaeology* 34 (1980), 69-86. On the importance of moveable wealth and horses in this context see J.Campbell, '*Reges* and *Principes*', pp. 94-7. And on bishops as military leaders see R.Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 1988), pp. 153, 156, 180, 181, 183, 273 n.49; cf. the ASC A *s.a.* 836, 870.

124) Aldhelm's *Carmina* III, *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 15, l.10, recalls three battles (*pugnae*) fought by Centwine.

125) DA, §40, pp. 92-7; Beorwald appears first in 704 (S.245) and Wilfrid died in 709; ASC E 709 and *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Colgrave, p. 186.

126) HE IV, 13; V, 19; but no specific mention is made of Wilfrid in Wessex.

127) SS.230 and 232; on which cf. W.H.Stevenson, 'Trinoda Necessitas', *EHR* 29 (1914), 689-703 (who was loth to condemn the charters altogether, *ib.* p. 692 n.25) and Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 240-43.

128) *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, p. 47; S.1507; DB i, 86b, 89c. Grounds for a dispute over Wedmore are suggested by S.1114, S.1042 and *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis*, ed. J.Hunter, Camden Society 8 (London, 1840), at p. 17.

129) Morland, 'Somerset Manors' p. 70.

130) Cf. the case of Pucklechurch, L.Abrams, '"Lucid Intervals": A Rediscovered Anglo-Saxon Royal Diploma from Glastonbury Abbey', *JSA* 10 (1989), 43-56.

131) Bede HE IV, 13; *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Colgrave, §41, pp. 80-4. Wilfird's land at Pagham was of 70 *tributarii*, S.230.

132) DB i, 89c.

133) Cf. SS.68, 69, 72, 80...230, 232 etc.

134) E.g. S.227, S.246.

135) The Life was known at Canterbury from the tenth century; Brooks, *Early History*, p. 228. Two copies of the Life were recorded in the list of books at Glastonbury in 1247/8; Carley, 'John Leland', p. 115, who suggests the possibility that one of the two surviving MSS, Oxford, Bodleian MS Fell 3 (*s.xii*) from Salisbury, could be from Glastonbury.

136) *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Colgrave, p. 134.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Eighth Century

4.1 Ine and Glastonbury

In his book on Early Germanic Kingship, Wallace-Hadrill claimed that Ine had been to Glastonbury what Dagobert was to St Denis[1]. Like Dagobert, Ine later came to be seen as the founder of the monastery; like Dagobert he made some important gifts to the abbey; and importantly he was thought to have built a new church. The analogy cannot be pressed too far, for there is a significant difference not only between the quality of the evidence linking Dagobert with St Denis and that for Ine and Glastonbury but also between the substances of the relationships[2]. But on a superficial level the comparison does highlight a number of important points worth considering in a discussion of Ine's relationship with Glastonbury: in particular, the new church and its dedication, the gifts to the monastery of extensive lands, and the importance of the monastery to the West Saxon king, his family and his successors. Whilst Glastonbury could not claim quite the same relationship with the Anglo-Saxon kings as St Denis could with Frankish kings, it is nonetheless important to consider the patronage of the monastery in terms of dynastic politics and in particular of the claims of rival families.

One of the greatest difficulties presented by the evidence for Ine's association with Glastonbury is that none of it is contemporary, or even nearly contemporary. Bede has nothing to say of Glastonbury and very little to say of Ine[3]. In fact the earliest surviving record concerning Ine and Glastonbury is that added to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the early

eleventh century[4]. Moreover, the posthumous reputation of King Ine may have grown with time and hence too much may be attributed to him as an early founder not only of Glastonbury but also of the West-Saxon dynasty. Thus as early as the ninth century special attention was paid to Ine in the genealogies of the West Saxon kings[5]. Further evidence for Ine's association with Glastonbury comes from the eleventh-century manuscript, London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B. v. But, again, it is worth asking why the exemplar of this MS, containing the material on Ine, was copied in the later tenth century: perhaps because Glastonbury wished to stress its links with the West Saxon kings; and hence the inclusion of the genealogy of Ine and Edgar's sons, the Æthelings Edward, Edmund, and Æthelred[6]. Thus any attempt to understand what may have happened in the late seventh and early eighth century must take account of this later distortion. It is worth considering why Ine should have been seen as so important to Glastonbury and whether this does indeed reflect the actual impact of that king.

Where a relationship between warfare and the church is implied by both Bede and later Alfred[7], modern scholars have been inclined to go further linking periods of warfare with periods of church building. Booty was won in war and since wars were won with the support of the church, the creation of surplus wealth might then be used to build and furnish new churches[8]. Theodore's penitential states that one third of the spoils should go to the church[9]: Caedwalla's considerable gifts to Wilfrid might be explained thus and possibly also those of Ine to Glastonbury. Ine apparently did very well from his fighting in Kent. The Chronicle records s.a.694 that the Kentishmen came to terms with Ine for murdering Mul, and paid him thirty thousands; that is, a king's wergild[10]. H.Hahn long ago

suggested that Ine used this money for the building of the church at Glastonbury in 688[11]. In support of this Hahn referred to the passage in the DA where it is recalled that Ine built the church for the soul of his brother Mul[12]. This hypothesis is beset with a number of problems which will be considered below.

Before discussing the evidence in detail there are two further considerations; the first concerns Ine's relationship to his predecessors and successors and the second concerns the way in which this may have affected the monastery at Glastonbury. West Saxon royal genealogies make it clear that Ine stood apart in his succession to the throne. Bede described him simply as *de stirpe regia*[13]. This reflected a pattern seen throughout the seventh and eighth century where son rarely succeeded father[14]. The consequences for a king were the need both to fight off contenders, which Ine seems to have accomplished, and also to justify and legitimise his position[15]. The genealogies recorded in the Chronicle for kings of the seventh and early eighth century may reflect just this, whether the descent from Cerdic is fiction or not[16]. They also point to the fact that Ine, like Caedwalla before him, and unlike Cynegils, Cenwealh and Centwine, claimed descent from Ceawlin. Freeman first pointed out the significance of this: Caedwalla and Ine were the first descendents of Ceawlin to claim the throne[17]. Freeman saw this in terms of a 'blood-feud' between the Ceawlings, who had not held the throne since Ceawlin had been deprived of it by Ceol, and the line of Cutha whose descendents were kings from 591 to c.685. Whilst the evidence for such a conflict might be disputed it is clear that by the late seventh century both Caedwalla and Ine claimed a common and distinctive genealogy[18]. A common ancestry would also explain

why Ine should have continued Caedwalla's feud against the Kentishmen over the death of Mul[19].

One element of a dynastic feud must have concerned the Church. I have argued that Glastonbury was founded by Centwine, a descendent of Cutha, and that he was its earliest patron. Importantly, he may also have been buried there[20]. It is, therefore, significant that Ine's earliest (extant) grant was in favour of Glastonbury. Ine may have been attempting to take control of the monastery of his predecessor Centwine and in so doing he may have been claiming not just the monastery but the ascendency of his line over that of the Cuthings. Ine's putative church, built at Glastonbury, thus assumes considerable importance.

Ine's Church

The primary evidence for the building of the church comes from an interpolation into the entry for the year 688 of the A text of the Chronicle[21];

he [Ine] *getimbrade paet menster aet glaestinga byrig.*

Several questions come to mind: when was this note added to the Chronicle entry? On what evidence is the assertion made? How far can it be relied upon? Most if not all of these questions are probably unanswerable but since this entry has been quoted without question, there is some need to examine it carefully[22]. There is also a comparable case: Winchester. B.Yorke has argued that the date 648 given for the foundation of the church at Winchester is part of a late and not altogether reliable tradition that post-dates the reforms of the tenth century[23]. It may have been the reforms themselves which inspired a widespread interest in the early history of different houses; and particularly those associated with Æthelwold.

The information concerning Glastonbury appears as an early eleventh-century addition to the A text of the Chronicle. A more detailed note concerning Ine and Glastonbury also appears in Tiberius B. v, 23r[24]. This folio contains West Saxon genealogical material and the additional information about Ine appears in the entry naming his brother Ingeld;

He getimbrade þaet beorhte mynster aet glaestinga byrig 7 aefter þam fyrde to ste petres 7 þaer his feorh asealde 7 on sibbe gerest.

'He built that magnificent minster at Glastonbury and after, travelled to Saint Peter's. There his soul surrendered and rests in peace'[25].
Since this entry is more detailed, the Chronicle entry is assumed to have been taken from the Tiberius MS[26].

It seems likely that the material concerning Ine was copied into the exemplar of Tiberius B. v, at Glastonbury, since 23v contains the abbatial list for the abbey[27]. Dumville has argued that a hypothetical MS ϵ existed at Glastonbury and gave rise to the genealogical information both in the Tiberius MS and also in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183[28]. The latter, dated c.934x37, does not, however, include the information about Ine's building. From MS ϵ was derived ζ into which the additional information was added, c.969 at Glastonbury[29]. ζ was taken to Christ Church where it provided the exemplar for η (c.990) which in turn was the exemplar for Tiberius B. v, also written at Christ Church for Winchester in the second quarter of the eleventh century. Finally it was at Winchester that the information was taken and added to the A MS of the Chronicle[30].

On Dumville's showing the addition was made in the second half of the tenth century and cannot be traced further back. If the information was contained in the Glastonbury muniments or perhaps in a Glastonbury copy of the Chronicle which has not survived, it is odd that it should not have

come to light in an earlier addition or in an earlier MS such as CCCC 183 - since this might be a Glastonbury MS - and from which Tiberius B. v derived some of its material. One might posit a lost obituary or *liber uitae* as the source for the abbatial list but this is unlikely to have preserved the additional information. Since the information is not assigned a date in the Tiberius MS, it was presumably not derived from an annal. If it was not written down before ʃ then it must be seen as part of the 'traditions' of the abbey[31].

The addition is suspicious. In that part of the Chronicle compiled c.890, Ine was clearly favoured in that there are 8 entries concerning him, more than any other king until those for Egberht, Aethelwulf and Alfred. The entry for 688 is almost entirely composed from HE V.7. Ine may have been adopted because of his exemplary end (as Caedwalla also) and given his posthumous reputation he would have made an ideal choice for the builder/founder of a church. At Glastonbury a grant made by Ine to the whole West Saxon church was adapted in the tenth century so as to apply only to Glastonbury[32]. There was thus good reason to attribute the building of a church to Ine.

Another problem with the additional material in ASC A *s.a.*688 is that although it was added under that year, the probable exemplar for the information (Tiberius B v) gave no date. Indeed, it might be suggested that 688 was chosen for convenience as the date to include information about Ine, because it is the first year of his reign. That the addition was not recorded with a date in the exemplar is perhaps also suggested by the fact that subsequent records give different dates for Ine's church: 683, 710 and 727[33]. The A text of the Chronicle is the earliest witness; but clearly either the later recorders did not have access to the A/G version or they

knew of differing traditions. In either case the date 688 as that for the building of a church at Glastonbury does not seem to be secure[34].

It is possible that the building took several years to complete over a period in the late seventh or early eighth centuries and that tradition simply assigned the work to the most prestigious king of that period - who was also known as a benefactor of the abbey.

Further evidence which relates to Ine's building at Glastonbury includes the dedication of the church and a *titulus* attributed to Ine. These will be considered below.

The Dedication

Whilst the double dedication to SS Peter and Paul has been accepted as the dedication of the church of Ine, the evidence is by no means clear[35]. B in his Life of Dunstan having described the church built by the first neophytes and dedicated to St Mary, adds *Huic etiam aliud addiderunt opere lapideo oratorium quod Christo eiusque Sancto Petro apostolo dedicauerunt*[36]. He makes no mention of St Paul. The privilege of Pope Leo (798) is made only to the church of Our Lord Jesus Christ[37] Had the Pope known of the dedication to St Peter it would be surprising if he had not mentioned such an important link with Rome[38].

The dedication to Peter and Paul is, however, recorded in a charter (S.1410) purportedly of 744 but undoubtedly rewritten at a later date since the witness-list and the dating clause have been incorporated into the body of the charter and a second witness-list has been added to the end of the charter as corroboration. There is nothing inconsistent in either witness-list, however. Indeed, in the text of the charter it is not clear that any material has been added[39]. References in charters to the dedication of a

particular church are unusual and perhaps suspect[40] and given that the charter was rewritten at a later date, the dedication could have been added then. But the phrase itself is not easily explained as a later fabrication. The donation was witnessed *in absida dedicata quidem patrocinio eximiorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli.* Unlike those other charters which mention the dedication of a church, this phrase does not say that the gift was made in the saints' honour but rather that the gift was made and witnessed in the church of SS Peter and Paul. The distinction is important, for in Glastonbury charters where the dedication has been interpolated, the grant is made to the monks and the saints[41]. By the tenth century the most important dedication and the one by which the church was known was that of St Mary and hence it would be surprising if the reference to SS Peter and Paul was added at a later date[42].

Further evidence for the dedication and the church itself is provided by the DA, which describes a *titulus* Ine had inscribed in his church[43]. The inscription is confected of two *tituli* of Venantius Fortunatus which were adapted to relate to Glastonbury and Ine[44]. The *titulus* also describes the two saints Peter and Paul and was presumably chosen because these were the saints to whom the church was dedicated. If this is genuinely a seventh-century inscription it is clearly important to the present argument. But Scott considered the *titulus* to be a post twelfth-century interpolation into William's original account on the grounds that this chapter, if written by William, must have been revised as it describes Mul as being Ine's brother, something William knew to be untrue[45]. Against this it might be argued that the information concerning the churches and the death of Mul was added later to a chapter concerned with Ine's church and the inscription therein. To this argument William's interest in recording

inscriptions is relevant[46]. More recently Lapidge has accepted the authenticity of the *titulus*, citing other examples of *tituli* that were written in churches in the seventh and eighth centuries[47]. In particular, he has argued that the poems of Venantius were well known north of the Humber, to Bede among others, but south of the Humber there is only evidence for their being known to Aldhelm[48]. His knowledge is exactly contemporary with the Glastonbury *titulus*[49]. The inscription is also like those of fifth- and sixth-century Gaul described by Wood and Marrou, in that it eulogizes a great patron, and was set up high for all to see[50].

There are, however, two major problems with accepting the inscription as being of the seventh century. Notwithstanding the minor changes to the original poem(s), which include changing words and word order, two changes were made to make the poem(s) refer to Glastonbury[51]. In the first *Allabrogas* has been replaced by *Glastoniam* and in the second *Gallia* has been replaced by *Anglia*. Neither of these two words, *Glastonia* or *Anglia*, square with an early eighth-century date. The earliest datable reference to *Glastonia* is that used by B in his *Vita* and hence of the early eleventh century[52]. It is conceivable that *Glastonia* was coined as a latinised form of the place-name to fit the poem but *Anglia* was not used in the sense of 'England' until the tenth century[53]. If the *titulus* was composed in the seventh century then *Britannia* might perhaps be expected[54] but not the form *Anglia*. Thus more significant than Aldhelm's knowledge is the evidence that copies of Venantius's poems, dating from after the Conquest, have been located in the west country at Gloucester, Malmesbury and Glastonbury[55].

The evidence for Ine's church is thus certain only from the eleventh century. It may have been at this time that the association of Ine with the monastery was fully developed, perhaps in response to the declining

fortunes at the end of the tenth century[56]. It might also have been in response to the claims made by Æthelwold's monasteries to Bedan origins, claims Glastonbury could not easily rival, except by developing the tradition of Ine's patronage[57].

4.2 The Evidence of the 'Boniface' Letters

The letters which survive in the so-called Boniface-collection are particularly important since they provide the only independent evidence for the existence of the monastery in the eighth century. They also suggest that Glastonbury, by that time, was a monastery of some significance and closely associated with the family of Ine.

It is difficult to know how the letters relating to purely English matters came to be copied on the continent in the ninth century[58]. It is unlikely that those relating to Glastonbury were known to William or he would have made use of them. Of the letters to be discussed, one was written to the abbot and the community at Glastonbury. A second letter was addressed to several abbots, including one who might have been the abbot of Glastonbury. These two letters relate to Wihtbert; one he received and one he sent. It may be that he kept copies of these letters and that they remained with him when he retired to a monastery on the continent, possibly Fritzlar. It is just conceivable that he also had a copy of the third letter, from Berhtwald to Forthere, but more likely this letter came into the collection together with letters of Aldhelm from a source at Sherborne[59]. The letters were copied in the later ninth century. Whether the compiler had some further knowledge about these letters it is impossible to say, but he copied the two letters concerning Wihtbert

consecutively in the MS, on 32v. Since only one of them mentions Glastonbury the connection seems to have been Wihtbert. The next letter on 33r is a fragment of one also by a man called Wihtbert, possibly the abbot. The letter from Berhtwald to Forthere was recorded on fol.34 immediately following a letter of Aldhelm[60].

The third of these letters is the earliest dated one (709-12). It is not directly about Ine but it does refer indirectly to his wars and a possible Glastonbury involvement. The letter was written by Archbishop Berhtwald to Forthere, bishop of Sherborne, asking him to interevene in a matter concerning a *captiua puella* who was being held by one Abbot Berwald, possibly of Glastonbury[61]. The abbot had hitherto ignored entreaties by the archbishop. The brother of the girl was to be sent, however, with a ransom of 300 *solidi*, which according to the laws of Hlothere was the wergild of a nobleman[62], in order to release the girl from servitude and return her to her family, *quae propinquos apud nos habere.*

The girl, then, had been taken captive or even hostage, presumably during a period of West Saxon fighting with Kent. Exactly when this could have happened is difficult to say as peace was made in 694 according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but Forthere was not made bishop until 709, hence providing a *terminus post quem* for the date of the letter. The letter of Wealdhere, bishop of London, to Archbishop Berhtwald, however, suggests that relations between the south-east and the west were by no means good[63]. Furthermore, the Chronicle is notoriously reticent about recording events that were detrimental to the West Saxon king: hence the enigmatic entry concerning the burning of Taunton, and the silence over the wars with the West Welsh which seem to have involved some West Saxon defeat[64]. It is possible, then, that the circumstances behind the letter relate to some

unknown struggle with Kent. Berwald may himself have taken part in the Kentish wars as a secular nobleman, possibly before becoming abbot or even during his abbacy. Whether Berwald captured the girl himself, was given her as part of the spoils of war or even bought her, he felt that he had certain rights in her. The letter has this ambiguous sentence: *frater quoque noster Beoruualdus nihil, ut aestimo, de eo, quod in ea* [the girl] *iuste possedit, amittit.* This could mean that the archbishop considered that the abbot had no rights in the girl, or that he ought not to have. But given that 300 *solidi* was being paid for the girl it seems more likely that this was considered adequate compensation for the loss of certain rights. These were presumably rights of ownership. Bede describes the comparable story of Imma, who was made captive after a battle, sold as a slave, then allowed to raise his own ransom[65]. What is so remarkable about the letter to the modern reader is that the archbishop does not begin to make a case against the abbot having a captive; rather he appeals to the abbot's sympathy, that the girl should not spend the rest of her days a captive.

It is also worth noting that Berwald did not accede to the original request from the archbishop. It may be that the abbot considered that his rights in the girl had nothing whatever to do with his being abbot and therefore of no concern to Berhtwald. But the letter does seem to suggest an underlying tension between on the one hand Glastonbury (and possibly the church generally in Wessex) and on the other hand the church at Canterbury - which would not be surprising in view of the decision made c.703-4 at a synod to cease intercourse with the West Saxon bishops if they failed to comply with the wishes of the archbishop[66]. The Life of Boniface written by Willibald (before 769) records that Abbot Berwald attended a synod of c.704-5 when a decision was made to send Winfrith to the archbishop,

possibly by way of reconciliation[67]. The reason for his mission is not made explicit; it may have concerned the division of the huge West Saxon diocese. But the fact that the letter is dated after the division of the diocese would suggest some disagreement remained and that Boniface (Winfrith) was sent to resolve it[68].

The very fact that Abbot Berwald was mentioned in the Life might suggest that both he and the community at Glastonbury were known to Boniface and were of some importance. Ine addressed the synod and asked who should be sent to perform the mission. In response: *Tum repente summus in Christo archimandrita, qui praedicto preerat monasterio (Nursling), nomen Wynbercht et Wintra, qui monasterium quod dicitur Tyssesburg praesedebat, et Beorwald qui diuina coenobium gubernatione quod antiquorum nuncupatur uocabulo Glestingaburg regebat*..brought Boniface to the king[69]. Now Willibald may have learned these names from Boniface himself, but whatever his source it was clear to him that these were the most important monasteries, at least represented at that council, for by implication the most distinguished ecclesiastics (abbots) w ould have chosen the future martyr. By highest in Christ, presumably, Willibald was referring to the practice, described at the earlier Council of Hertford, where the most senior, that is the longest serving, should appear first in lists[70].

In the passage quoted Willibald's identification of Glastonbury is significantly distinct from that of Tisbury: Glastonbury alone is called 'by the name of the men of old'. Further, Abbot Berwald is said to have ruled by 'Divine ordinance'. In other words when Willibald came to write the Life, the monastery at Glastonbury was already an old, presumably esteemed, place and the abbot a man of some importance. Who 'the men of old' were, or whether this was simply an expression, we do not know; but it

may have been from missionaries such as Wihtbert, that the name of Glastonbury was spread abroad. The identification of Glastonbury is similar to that used of Exeter where Boniface had studied, *quod priscorum nuncupatur uocabulo Axescancastre*. Clearly it was important to Willibald to distinguish the places which were older than others [71].

The only letter which actually mentions Glastonbury is that from Wihtbert to his brothers at Glastonbury[72]. The letter can be dated no closer than to the episcopate of Boniface, who is mentioned in the letter. Wihtbert begins: *semper ergo fraternitas uestra ac reuerentia, simul et orationes pro uobis ad Deum in me manent*. He goes on to describe his arrival among the Hessians and Saxons and his reception by Boniface, who on hearing of his arrival came to meet him. Wihtbert concludes the letter by sending his greetings to his *fratres in giro, primo Abbot Ingeld et congregationem nostram* and to *matri meae Tettan* and her community. The reference to 'our community' suggests that Wihtbert was not a monk of Glastonbury but rather of the community under Ingeld. There is no other evidence to indicate where this might have been but the phrase *in giro* might suggest that it was not far away from Glastonbury. Bede used the phrase of a new church which was built *around* an earlier one[73]. A similar phrase also appears in a Glastonbury charter of 692, where Haeddi was said to have given an island *surrounded* by marshes[74]. In both cases the phrase implies geographical proximity. The nearest monastery to Glastonbury for which evidence has survived is Muchelney. It may have had close links with Glastonbury but there is evidence for this only from the eleventh century[75]. Ingeld's monastery might be one of which no record survives. On the adjacent estate of Pennard there was a monastery at some time prior to the recording of the name *Pengeard mynster* in the tenth century[76]. One

Lulla was abbess of a house, possibly of a double monastery, near to Glastonbury[77].

The letter indicates that Wihtbert was on intimate terms with the community at Glastonbury. Some confraternal agreement may have existed between the Glastonbury community and that of Ingeld; alternatively Glastonbury may have been the parent community. It would be interesting to know why Wihtbert wrote to the community at Glastonbury telling them of his reception by Boniface, and not to his own community. Why did he not write directly to Ingeld?[78] Possibly the answer was expediency; someone was returning to Glastonbury, and hence out of deference Wihtbert addressed the letter to the community there. But it might also suggest that Glastonbury had played some further role in sending Wihtbert out to the continent. One important factor in missionary work was wealth which, in turn, went with high status. In order to make an expedition to the continent a missionary would need not only the support of well-connected people but also supplies of provisions and money; and it may be that Glastonbury supplied Wihtbert with these[79]. Perhaps the abbot had arranged for Wihtbert's reception by Boniface.

Hahn made a further point: the fact that Boniface himself came to meet Wihtbert would suggest that the latter was of some importance or at least of noble birth[80]. Wihtbert refers to his mother Tetta, which if taken to mean his biologial, and not spiritual, mother means that he was the nephew of Ine, for Tetta was, according to the life of St Leoba, the sister of Ine and abbess of Wimbourne[81]. Ine's interest in Glastonbury might thus be to some extent explained.

Further attempts to identify this Wihtbert in other letters of the collection has proved elusive. Hahn identified several groups, complicated

by confusion with a number of 'Wigberts'[82]. One group Hahn associated with Fritzlar, which might explain his suggestion that our Wihtbert went there. Hahn mooted the idea that this Wihtbert was the same as the Wigbert *presbiter* at Fritzlar and possibly the second abbot of that name. If accepted, this would narrow the dating of the letter discussed above (Tangl, 101) to 732x737-8. It would also considerably extend our knowledge of the relationship between the West Saxons and Fritzlar; the first abbot came from Wessex although there is no indication of where his family had lived. There is, however, no evidence for this identification; the two names Wihtbert and Wigbert appear to be quite distinct[83].

One letter which may refer to the same Wihtbert is Tangl no.55[84]. The letter is one of confraternity from an Abbot Aldhun and Abbesses *Cneuburg* and Coenburg to Abbots Coengils, Ingeld and the priest Wihtbert[85]. After a formal greeting introducing the letter, written in the third person plural, *Cneuburg* alone recommends the names of 'our dead sisters' to the priest Wihtbert in much more personal terms:

Nomina quoque nostrarum defunctarum sororum ego Cnueburg memoraliter te habere, O Wiehtberhte presbiter fidelis, deprecor et omnibus circumquaque transmittere. She mentions especially *Quoengyth soror mea germana.*

The letter apparently refers to the same group of people as Tangl no. 101; Wihtbert the priest, Abbot Ingeld and possibly the sisters of Ine. If Wihtbert is accepted as the same person then the letter must pre-date Tangl no. 101, since he had not yet left England. Beyond this the dating depends upon the identification of Abbot Coengils. The letter is perhaps likely to date from the first half of the eighth century given that Wihtbert had left the country by 754 at the latest. One Coengils was abbot of Glastonbury in

this period and in view of the other identifications he may be the Coengils of the letter. His abbacy cannot be fixed with any precision. His predecessor is last recorded in a charter dated 719 and Coengils first appears in 729 when he received land on the Poldens from Æthelheard. The next abbot, Tunberht received land in c.744. Thus Coengils' dates may be 719-729 x c.744[86].

The identity of the remaining people is uncertain. If the copyist of the letter made an error and Cneuburg is taken to be Cuthberg then possibly *Cneuburg*, Coenburg and Quoengyth were the sisters of Ine[87]. They appear together with their brother Ingeld in the Chronicle *s.a.* 718. Again, the coincidence of Ingeld and the putative sisters of Ine appearing together in this letter would be striking and might support this identification were it not for the fact that the Chronicle states that Ingeld died in 718. The earliest date for Tangl no. 55 is 719 and if an error either in the Chronicle or in the DA was made then perhaps these men were one and the same[88]. If Ingeld is taken to be the same as the Ingeld of Tangl no. 101 then the dates can hardly be reconciled and the theory that he was the brother of Ine would have to be rejected.

The letter also mentions Aldhun, one-time abbot over Wihtbert. The suggestion that he was abbot of a double-monastery at Wimborne, together with Cuthburg, is attractive but again there can be no certainty[89].

The letters provide an unparalleled view of the wider network of communities with which Glastonbury was associated; and communities which may well have been royal and connected with the family of Ine. The letters might also show that the community, or at least the abbot, was interested in matters beyond the monastery and that his influence reached as far as the missionaries on the continent. In this respect the contact with the

continent may have continued for a letter to Bishop Lul from one Tyccea asking for his intercession, may refer to the abbot of Glastonbury of that name[90].

4.3 Kings and Bishops

The question of how far, or to what extent, the patronage of Ine can be measured is difficult to answer. The evidence of the letters provides a salutary warning that there were a number of other houses about which little is known; such as Nursling or Tisbury. These were houses which did not survive but which may equally have received the king's favour. Yet it may not simply have been fortuitous that Glastonbury survived; the abbey was successful in part because of the extent of its support from West Saxon kings. One indication that the evidence which survives is not entirely unrepresentative can be found in the witness-list to the general grant of privileges made by Ine to the West Saxon church[91]. This is witnessed by 11 abbots, presumably the most important, or at least those who were to benefit from Ine's grant and perhaps those whom Ine sought to influence.

It is evident from this grant that Ine, like Wihtred of Kent, conceded to the monasteries freedom from *impedimentum secularium rerum* and *tributum fiscalium negotiorum*. As Brooks has argued for Wihtred's privilege to the Kentish church, this may have been intended to render the monasteries accountable to none but the king[92]. Wihtred's privilege expected in return for immunity, *honorem vel oboedentiam*. No such clause appears in Ine's charter but the very fact that Ine was able to free the monasteries from 'tribute' would suggest that he had some control over them: that they were royal monasteries[93]. It would be extraordinary if he relinquished all his

interests in the monasteries; rather, in granting certain immunities the king was asserting his control over them. If he could no longer exact 'tribute', he could still influence abbatial elections, place his men on monastic lands and expect special intercession from the community[94]. The fact that no bishop witnessed the charter is further probable evidence of his power[95].

Control of lucrative monasteries must have been a central issue. It was presumably a struggle waged between the king and the respective abbots and their communities, but also more importantly between king and bishop[96]. The struggle for the monastic resources or revenue was achieved most effectively through control of abbatial elections. Some ecclesiastics had taken measures to free their monasteries from episcopal control, to place them directly under the control of the Pope, and to grant them free abbatial elections[97]. This measure may have liberated a monastery from diocesan control. It may also have helped those bishops like Wilfrid and perhaps Aldhelm build their ecclesiastical *regna* over several dioceses[98].

For the vast diocese of Wessex it is remarkable that only Malmesbury secured an episcopal exemption whilst Haeddi was bishop. This may be attributed to the power and influence of Aldhelm rather than to any weakness on Haeddi's part, although there might have been some conflict. But Aldhelm had the support of two kings: Ine and Æthelred[99].

It is important to establish how far the struggle between king and bishop affected the development of the monastery at Glastonbury. If the abbey was a royal *Eigenkloster*, the bishop's dealings with the monastery would be limited. What happened in practice depended very much upon the relationship between the king and his bishop. As the later decrees of 787 state, *tributum* was to be decided with *unanimitas inter reges et episcopos*,

ecclesiasticos et laicos[100]. Perhaps the unstated realities of being under royal protection were freedom from episcopal interference in abbatial elections and freedom from payment for episcopal services.

The evidence for Aldhelm's involvement with Glastonbury is inconclusive. William tells us that Aldhelm advised Ine in the building of the church at Glastonbury. This, were the building to predate 705, would be remarkable since he was not yet bishop[101]. William recorded that Aldhelm had built a church at Malmesbury and it has been argued that he was responsible for building a number of other monasteries - west of Selwood[102]; but in each case the primary evidence is that of William himself. It may then seem tempting to follow William and suggest that Aldhelm had a hand in the building. Indirect evidence of Aldhelm's association with Glastonbury may be adduced if it is accepted that Aldhelm dedicated his first so-called *Carmen Rhythmicum* to Haemgils abbot of Glastonbury and if he later wrote to Echfrid abbot of Glastonbury, but neither of these points is certain[103]. Finally, the evidence does not warrant Radford's conclusion that the Kentish influence seen in the plan of Ine's church is 'doubtless due to St Aldhelm' since his arguments are circular: that Aldhelm had studied in Canterbury and hence would have learned of church building in Kent; and that a great British church (presumed to have been at Glastonbury) would have involved Aldhelm as abbot of an Irish foundation[104]. Haeddi, equally, had links with Canterbury and there is evidence to link him more directly with Glastonbury.

Unlike Aldhelm little is known of Haeddi and it may be because of this that his influence has unjustly been overlooked[105]. He was bishop of the enormous West Saxon diocese for 29 years from 676 to 705, which in itself might suggest a powerful prelate: *tantae dioceseos circuitum vellet regere*

as William put it[106]. There is little evidence with which to link Haeddi and Ine except for the significant reference in the preface to Ine's laws, where Ine refers to his two Bishops, Haeddi and Eorconwald[107]: significant because Haeddi is placed before Eorconwald in contravention of a provision of the Council of Hertford that all bishops should acknowledge their time and order for consecration which would presumably determine their order of precedence.

In relation to Glastonbury, Haeddi's involvement is interesting. William tells us that he was concerned with the election of abbot Haemgils[108], but whether he was acting in his own interests or those of Centwine is not clear (assuming they were different). More certain is his grant of land to the abbey[109]. It should be stressed that this grant is unusual. No other charter for Haeddi survives and in particular, none in favour of his episcopal seat at Winchester. The gift is made by Haeddi without any reference to the king's permission; and no king subscribes. This is unusual, given that, unlike the majority of later episcopal grants, this was not a lease, and hence the king's consent might be expected. Clearly the land was part of Haeddi's own personal property. A comparison might be made with those charters of Bishop Eorconwald to his monasteries[110]. If Eorconwald sought to control of a number of monasteries in the South-East, then so also may have Haeddi in the South-West.

Haeddi's charter is dated to 692[111]. Two units of land were granted: one, an island (Meare), c.3 miles to the west of Glastonbury and the other c.1 mile to the south of Glastonbury at *Lantocal*, now Leigh in Street. Since the gifts are of land close to Glastonbury they are consistent with the theory that the monastery had been newly founded. Haeddi had witnessed a charter of Baldred to Glastonbury which Haeddi was said to have written

(*scripsi*) although this form of subscription does not necessarily mean that he wrote the charter himself[112]. Ine's grant of 693 to Glastonbury was said to have been made with the advice of Haeddi. One further point should be made concerning this charter. It is dated to the 6th of July. Haeddi's anniversary is the 7th of July[113]. Given that such dates do sometimes differ by a day it is either an odd coincidence or the date was added to the Glastonbury charter after Haeddi's death, perhaps because his anniversary was celebrated in the abbey.

William claimed that he had read the name of Haeddi on one of the stone 'pyramids' in the cemetery, which he tentatively suggested might indicate that his bones were laid therein[114]. If this were so it might be taken as the strongest argument for Haeddi's patronage of Glastonbury: an extraordinary choice because one would have expected him to have been buried at Winchester. Not surprisingly Winchester did claim to possess the bones of Haeddi in the eleventh-century list of saints' resting-places. His relics were claimed along with those of other bishops from Birinus to Swithun. But this may have been part of an attempt to promote Winchester as a centre of sanctity perhaps under Æthelwold in the tenth century[115]. If the Winchester claim is accepted it could still be said that Glastonbury was the only monastery which Haeddi favoured outside of his own community.

One further grant from an eighth-century bishop survives in the Glastonbury archive; that from Forthere bishop of Sherborne. In view of Archbishop Berhtwald's appeal to Forthere for his help in dealing with the abbot of Glastonbury it may be that Forthere had some influence over the abbot. At any rate, his grant like that of Haeddi is the only one to have survived for that bishop. This could be an accident of survival or it could imply that Forthere was a particular benefactor of Glastonbury[116]. But

where the development of Malmesbury can be linked to the influence of Aldhelm, as Ripon and Hexham can be to Wilfrid and possibly as Barking can be to Eorconwald, for Glastonbury the most important benefactor and therefore the most influential patron, was Ine. The extent of his grants to the monastery was considerable and perhaps just as significant, they made up a substantial part of Glastonbury's endowment thereafter. This, of course, raises the question of how far these charters can be accepted as genuine[117].

The earliest of Ine's gifts was made in 693. The grant is significant for two reasons. First, the land represented a further extention of territory into the Levels, beyond that of Haeddi's gift. Brent 'island' lay some 12 miles to the west of Glastonbury on the coast. Secondly the land was retained throughout the Anglo-Saxon period and DB records it as by far the most valuable of all Glastonbury's Somerset estates[118]. The reason for its value is not made clear but it might be significant that it had the largest population of 'villagers' of any Glastonbury estate. The island also formed a separate hundred, presumably under the abbot[119]. This does not mean that the same situation existed in the seventh century. The estate could have been enlarged[120]. Nevertheless, the location of the estate does seem to be significant. Brent stood surrounded by marsh and it lay between the two rivers, the Brue and the Axe[121]. Others of Ine's gifts also lay along the river Axe. He gave half a hide at Escford, and one hide at *Scipelade* (Shiplate)[122]. Forthere's grant lay on the Axe *ad portum quae dicitur Bledenythe.* All these grants suggest the importance of the river and the obvious reason would be as a means of catching fish, a valuable commodity for the support of the community[123]. Forthere's grant is also suggestive for *portus* means landing-place and trade along the river might

thus have been a relevant factor[124]. By the tenth century the borough at Ax bridge may have developed for precisely this reason; and later a (forged) charter of Edgar to the Old Minster at Winchester gave land at Bleadon adjacent to Shiplate and on the bank of the Axe. It conceded all rights including those of *mercata*[125]. None of this amounts to proof that trade and fishing were factors influencing grants made to the abbey but it is surely significant that Ine chose to make a number of gifts on or near the river Axe.

Ine's gift of Brent was made near the beginning of his reign, and might be said to reflect the needs of an expanding monastery. Ine granted lands in a number of different places and this occasioned the drawing-up of a single charter for extensive estates in different areas[126]. Each area represented a considerable endowment in its own right and all formed the basis for the abbey's endowment. Two were of blocks of land immediately to the east and west of Glastonbury covering geographically distinct areas, on the Poldens, and in the Doulting river valley. The third area lay near the river Tone and might be that which Centwine had granted earlier (see §6). If so then Ine's charter was also a confirmation of almost all the major areas of land owned by the abbey[127]. Ine's charter was surely intended to express the king's control over the monastery of Glastonbury, that he might be seen as its patron. Like the building of a church this could be taken as a defiant gesture towards the line of Centwine: one of Centwine's gifts was being confirmed. What is less satisfying about the charter is why no laymen witness it - not even the king - and it may be that whilst the charter contains formulae acceptable for the early eighth century, the charter was itself rewritten and hence possibly adapted at a later date[128].

The blood-relationship between Ine and his successor Æthelheard is uncertain for the Chronicle records not the genealogy of Æthelheard but rather that of his rival, Oswald[129]. The only evidence is provided by William's forged charter of privileges to Glastonbury, where he has an Æthelheard *frater reginae*[130]. It is unlikely that this witness-list is based upon a genuine list of Ine's reign but it is not the sort of detail that William would fabricate without cause; rather the information may have come from the same source(s) from which William learned of Ine and his wife Æthelburh[131]. Freeman argued that the distinct, and unusual, element *Æthel-* common to both names indicated a close kin-relationship and further that this pointed to a 'special connection between Ine and that branch of the family to which his wife belonged'[132]. Unfortunately, although the hypothesis is attractive, the evidence is only as good as William's word. There is nothing to indicate whether Ine supported Æthelheard's succession, except the statement that he left a kingdom which had been *iuuenioribus commendatum* and Æthelheard and Oswald may have been two of the young men[133].

What can be said about Æthelheard is that he experienced some difficulty in securing his position and that he and his wife made grants to Glastonbury. Given Ine's association with Glastonbury, he and Æthelheard may have been connected. How far Æthelheard extended his patronage elsewhere it is difficult to say. Two charters of his survive; one (extremely dubious) for Winchester and one for Crediton[134]. On the other hand Æthelheard granted to Glastonbury a large area of land (60 hides) on the Poldens and further land by the river Torridge in Devon[135]. His wife, Frithugyth, gave 5 hides at *Brunantun*[136]. Frithugyth's charter is significant; it is the only record of a West Saxon queen granting land

until Eadburh in 801[137]. The charter is also important for suggesting a connection between Æthelheard's family and Glastonbury.

Still less can be said of Cuthred. He was a *propinquus* of Æthelheard[138]. The only extant charter of his which can be accepted is one for Winchester[139]. That for Malmesbury is dubious and the Glastonbury privilege of Cuthred appears to have been forged at a later date[140]. Sherborne also claimed a number of (now lost) grants from this king one of which may have been the same estate as that granted to Glastonbury by Ine, which, if so, might suggest that Glastonbury was losing some of its attraction to the new episcopal seat[141].

The only community which could claim gifts comparable to those of Glastonbury was Sherborne. Again, this does raise the question of how far these two communities were exceptional and whether this is simply a reflection of the survival of the evidence: both Sherborne and Glastonbury have extensive lists of claimed estates[142]. Aside from the difficulties presented by the Sherborne list, it is instructive to ask why the community at Sherborne was chosen as the centre for the new See. O'Donovan has considered the question and the possible alternative locations, including Glastonbury; 'however, it (Glastonbury) was not chosen as the new episcopal seat, its endowments and relatively central position being outweighed by some other factor (probably its periodic inaccessibility in the marshes). Sherborne was chosen despite being so close to the eastern edge of the new bishopric'[143]. This seems to me to miss the point. Glastonbury was in an ideal location for the seat but it was not chosen because it was a royal monastery. Powerful monasteries did not choose to become episcopal centres. Bede makes this clear in his letter to Ecgbert, where he envisaged the resistance of abbots and monks to such attempts[144]. Hence Papal exemptions,

such as those for Hexham and Malmesbury, were sought[145]. It was a relatively weak community such as Sherborne that was vulnerable to the bishop.

A relationship between Ine and Glastonbury is demonstrated by his grants of land to the abbey and indirectly through the letters of the 'Boniface collection'. Less certain is the evidence of the Chronicle that he built a *mynster* at Glastonbury. The implications suggest that while Ine was an important benefactor of Glastonbury granting estates in strategic locations, the abbey, as a royal monastery, afforded the king not only a means of controlling large areas of land but also a way of expressing his authority over his dynastic rivals and in particular the line of Centwine.

Notes: Chapter Four

1) J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford, 1971), p.90. The sentence runs, 'Nor would one guess from Bede that Ine had been to Glastonbury what Dagobert was to St. Denis, as well as benefactor of Malmesbury and Abingdon and founder of the bishopric of Sherborne, which he gave to his friend, Aldhelm.'

2) Dagobert is to be found in, J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 126-31. For the sources see J.M.Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *The Fourth Book of the Chronicle of Fredegar* (London, 1960); *Gesta Domni Dagoberti Regis Francorum*, ed. B.Krusch, MGH Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum 2, MGH (Hannover, 1888). See generally R.A.Gerberding, *The Rise of the Carolingians and the 'Liber Historiae Francorum'* (Oxford, 1987).

3) HE IV.15; V,7. Cf. D.P.Kirby, 'Problems of Early West Saxon History', *EHR* 80 (1965), 10-29 at 11 and on Daniel, Bede's West Saxon informant, see D.P.Kirby 'Bede's Native Sources for the *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* 48 (1965-6), 341-71; cf. also J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People. A Historical Commentary* (Oxford, 1988), p. 179.

4) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS A*, ed. J.Bately, The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a Collaborative Edition, ed. D.Dumville and S.Keynes (Woodbridge, 1986), p. 32.

5) When Ine appears in the genealogies of Egbert, Æthelwulf and Alfred. Note too that Alfred's laws survive in a composite code together with those of Ine and that Ine's Laws are referred to in the preface to Alfred's code; Attenborough, *Laws*, p. 62. For the implications of this see P.Wormald, 'Lex Scripta and *Verbum Regis*: Legislation and Germanic Kingship, from Euric to

Cnut', *Medieval Kingship*, ed. Sawyer and Wood, pp. 105-38 at 116-17 and 133. On the genealogies and regnal lists see K.Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 39 (1953), 287-348; D.Dumville, 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *ASE* 5 (1975), 23-50; Dumville, 'Chronology of Early Wessex'.

6) The MS is edited by P.McGurk *et al.*, *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 21 (Copenhagen, 1983). It is discussed by Dumville, 'Anglian Collection'. On the date see below n. 43. On Glastonbury in the reign of Æthelred see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp.180-81; cf. DA, §63, pp. 130-31.

7) Cf. Bede HE III, 24: *militia terrestris* led to peace which enabled kings like Oswy to build and endow monasteries. On Alfred see, T.Shippey, 'Wealth and Wisdom in King Alfred's Preface to the Old English Pastoral Care', *EHR* 94 (1979), 346-55, esp. 353-54; and more generally, J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, 'War and Peace in the Earlier Middle Ages', TRHS 25 (1975), 157-74.

8) J.Campbell, 'The First Century of English Christianity', in his *Essays*, pp. 49-67. Morris, *The Church*, pp. 31-2.

9) Campbell, 'First Century', p. 50; see also Wormald, 'The Age of Bede and Æthelbald', pp. 85-6. For Ine's wars cf. Freeman, 'King Ine', pp. 26-34.

10) The sum was probably pence; *EHD*, p. 169 n.9 and G.N.Garmonsway, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 2nd edn (London, 1954), p. 40 n.1.

11) H.Hahn, *Bonifaz und Lull* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 25.

12) DA, §40, pp. 92-7.

13) HE V, 7; Freeman, 'King Ine', p. 9 ff.

14) Freeman, *ib.*; D.Dumville, 'The Ætheling: A Study in Anglo-Saxon Constitutional History', *ASE* 8 (1979), 1-33.

15) Dumville, 'Kingship', p. 77.

16) Dumville, 'Ætheling'.

17) Freeman, 'King Ine', pp. 16-7.

18) The evidence rests upon reading between the lines of the Chronice *s.a.* 591, 592 and 593.

19) Cf. Ecgfrith's raid on Ireland in 684, aimed at churches and monasteries - part of a dynastic feud: HE IV, 26; A.P.Smyth, *Celtic Leinster* (Dublin, 1982), pp. 120-21 and Cramp, 'Northumbria and Ireland', pp. 185-86. See also the dynastic politics of Bernicia and Deira; D.P.Kirby, 'Time of Wilfrid', in *Saint Wilfrid*, ed. D.P.Kirby, pp. 1-34; and for the involvement of the church: C.Cubitt, 'Wilfid's Usurping Bishops: Episcopal Election in Anglo-Saxon England c.600-c.800', *Northern History* 25 (1989), 18-38 at 38.

20) See above pp. 130-31.

21) *ASC MS A*, ed. Bately, p. 32.

22) Cf. M.Lapidge, 'Beowulf, Aldhelm, the *Liber Monstrorum* and Wessex', in *Studi Medievali* 23 (1982), 151-91 at 155; and Radford, 'Interim Report'.

23) Yorke, 'The Foundation', pp. 75-83.

24) See *ASC MS A*, ed. Bately, p. xxxviii: identified as Hand '6'; Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', p. 27.

25) It is printed by Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', p. 43 and n.4. I would like to thank Dr Roberts for her advice on this passage. The verb *timbran* is ambiguous, implying building in either wood or stone. In the OE Bede it is qualified by either *treow* or *staenen*. See HE II, 14, where the two types of church are juxtaposed; *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. T.Miller, 4 vols., EETS 95-6 and 110-11 (London, 1890-98) I, 138.

26) Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', p. 27. But note that where Dumville dates the Tiberius MS to the second quarter of the eleventh century, Bately dates the A text to the first decade of the eleventh century; i.e. the Chronicle might pre-date the Tiberius MS.

27) Robinson, *Bishops*; the list is discussed in his 'Saxon Abbots'. Cf. Dumville, 'Anglian Collection'.

28) Robinson, *Bishops*, pp. 13-14; Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', pp. 25-6; and see below §7, p. 296.

29) The MS contains Easter tables for the cycles 969-87 and 988-1006. Hence the date of 969 for copying of ζ; Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', pp. 42-3. The abbatial list is likely to have been composed and copied at Glastonbury. 'The lack of rubric for the list of abbots also suggests a recent Glastonbury origin: only there would it be unnecessary to explain the list', Dumville, *ib.*, p. 43 n.6. But the last named abbot is Ælfweard who came to office c.975, and hence the list must have been amended during his abbacy (Dumville, *ib.*, p. 44). Alternatively the MS was copied during his abbacy, either from δ or if the Easter tables were copied from an alternative source, then perhaps comprising ζ. The MS reached Canterbury, Christ Church, by c.990, where it provided the exemplar for η.

30) Dumville, *ib.*, p. 27. Note the reservation above n. 26.

31) See above §2, pp. 77-80, for William's use of 'traditions'.

32) S.246.

33) For 683 see *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia*, Annales Monastici II, ed. H.R.Luard, RS 36 (London, 1865). The date might be accounted for through the omission of 'u'. On the unreliability of the Winchester Annals see the comments of Yorke, 'The Foundation' and Luard, *Annales*, pp. xxvii-xxix. For

710 see William of Worcester *Itineraries*, ed. J.H.Harvey (Oxford, 1969), p. 179. For 727 see *Lelandi.. Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, I, 96.

34) On the dates of Ine's reign see Dumville, 'Chronology of Early Wessex', pp. 41-2. Radford's dating of the church as c.720 is idiosyncratic. Robinson suggested c.705 because Haemgils (ob. c.705) was said to have been buried in the old church ('Saxon Abbots', pp. 30-1), but this does not necessarily follow. For the problems concerning the 'Old Church' see above §2, 77-80.

35) Cf. Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 260.

36) MSD, p. 7.

37) DA, §50, pp. 108-09.

38) But if Glastonbury was one of the monasteries claimed by Offa then the dedication to Peter and Paul might be assumed; see below §5, p. 205.

39) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 41-5.

40) O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, p. 12.

41) S.236; S.246. Cf. Aldhelm's *Carmina Ecclesiastica* 4.1.1, in *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 19: *Hanc Petrus absidam Sanctorum sorte coronat.*

42) See below §8, pp. 332-33.

43) DA, §40, pp. 92-7.

44) Scott, p. 199 n.89; M.Lapidge, 'Knowledge of the Poems in the Earlier Period', appendix to R.W.Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence for Knowledge of the Poems of Venantius Fortunatus in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 8 (1979), 279-95 at 290.

45) Scott, p. 199 n.89.

46) Lapidge, 'Knowledge', p. 290; cf. DA, §32, 33, 47, 67, 68; pp. 84-7, 104-07, 136-41.

47) M.Lapidge and J.L.Rosier, *Aldhelm: The Poetic Works* (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 37 and p. 229 n.18; where comparative evidence is cited from Jarrow (c.685) and Hadrian I's inscribed epitaph, some 38 lines long. Cf, I.Wood, 'The Audience of Architecture in Post-Roman Gaul', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Butler and Morris, pp. 74-9.

48) Lapidge, 'Knowledge'.

49) But see below for a discussion of his influence, pp. 000.

50) Wood, 'Audience'. The position of Ine's *titulus* would recall those at Narbonne; H.I.Marrou 'Le Dossier Épigraphique de L'Évêque Rusticus de Narbonne', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana*, 46 (1970), 331-49 at 341 f. .

51) Lapidge, 'Knowledge', p. 290 and n.3.

52) MSD, p. 7 f. Personal names of ecclesiastics were sometimes latinised from the seventh century; cf. e.g S.19. Ine's charter concerning Brent (S.238) may preserve seventh-century latinised place-name forms, *Sabrinam, Axam*; Grundy, Saxon Charters, pp. 149-50.

53) Cf. *Æthelweard*, ed. Campbell, p. 9: *Ideoque Brittannia nunc Anglia appellatur.*

54) See Bede's use in the famous passage HE I, 15; E.John '"Orbis Britanniae" and the Anglo-Saxon Kings' in his *Orbis Britanniae* (Leicester, 1966), 1-63 and Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas*', pp. 99-129.

55) Hunt, 'Manuscript Evidence', p. 286.

56) See above §1, p. 30.

57) See below §8.4.

58) Cf. the discussions by Whitelock, EHD, pp. 623-25; Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 280-90; and generally, G.Constable, *Letters and Letter-Collections*, in Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental, 17 (Turnhout, 1976).

59) The letters are Tangl nos. 7, 55 and 101, pp. 2, 97-8 and 224-25. See the comments of Whitelock, *EHD*, pp. 624-25. The collection preserved 7 letters of Aldhelm and 2 concerning Forthere. 6 letters are related to Daniel of Winchester.

60) The relevant manuscript printed by Tangl is his Codex 3: Wien, Hofbibliothek, lat. 751, *s.ix, med.*.

61) Tangl, p. 2, no.7; *EHD*, pp. 794-95.

62) Attenborough, *Laws*, pp. 18-19.

63) The letter is dated 704-5. P.Chaplais, 'The Letter of Wealdhere of London to Archbishop Brihtwold of Canterbury: the Earliest Original "Letter Close" Extant in the West', in his *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (1981), XIV, pp. 3-24; EHD, no.164, pp. 792-93. The dispute involved several issues ecclesiastical and lay, but notable is the reference to exiles harboured by the Kentishmen; cf. Wormald, 'Bede and Æthelbald', pp. 94-5; and Freeman, ('King Ine', pp. 21-25) on those exiles to Kent with whom Ine dealt.

64) Freeman, *ib.*, pp. 26-55.

65) HE IV, 22. On the use made by the church of slaves as *conversi*, see H.Mayr-Harting, 'St.Wilfrid in Sussex', in *Studies in Sussex Church History*, ed. M.J.Kitch (Sussex, 1981), pp. 1-17 at 11 f.

66) As Wealdhere's letter implies, see above n.6. William recorded a tradition that Berhwald forfeited (*deserere*) an estate at Brent and then abandoned his monastery against the wishes of his bishop (Forthere) which would imply some dispute between Berhwald and his bishop; DA, §39, pp. 92-3 and above, §3, pp. 114-15.

67) *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii*, ed. Levison. Cf. Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 71. For problems concerning the date of the West Saxon

council see F.Barlow, 'The English Background', in *The Greatest Englishman*, ed. Reuter, pp. 11-29 at 26-7.

68) The relationship between Berhtwald and Glastonbury has been confused by the belief that he was one-time abbot of the monastery; so Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', pp.28-9.

69) *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii*, ed. Levison, p. 14;*EHD*, p. 778.

70) HE IV, 5; canon 8.

71) *Vitae Sancti Bonifacii*, ed. Levison, p. 6. Cf. the description of London; *usque hodie antiquo Anglorum Saxonum uocabulo appelatur Lundonwich*, *ib.*, p. 16.

72) Tangl, no. 101, pp. 224-25; EHD, pp. 826-27.

73) HE II, 14. Bede described the distance of 2 miles as *non longe.*

74) S.1249; *hoc* (two *manentes*) *est in insula que girum cingitur hinc atque illinc pallude cuius uocabulum est Ferramer'.*

75) See DA, §76, pp. 154-57.

76) S.563.

77) S.1410. The phrase might mean the orbit or extent of the Glastonbury influence or imply a daughter house. Cf. F.Stenton, 'Medeshamstede and its Colonies', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M.Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 179-92. Glastonbury claimed jurisdiction of a number of churches in the vicinity, of which one at least (Brent) may have been the minster for a hundred and hence may have been attended by a small community. But the evidence dates from the 12th century and is unreliable; DA, §§42, 60, pp. 98-103, 122-27. On *Branucmynster*, which came to acquire the -minster element after Glastonbury took possession of it, see below §6, p. 256

78) Of course Wihtbert may have written to Ingeld but the letter has not been preserved.

79) Cf. Boniface had the support of Abbot Winbert, which included money and supplies for the journey, companions and prayers; this might suggest that it was an expensive business, *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii*, ed. Levison, p. 56. J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, 'A Background to St Boniface's Mission', in *England Before the Conquest*, ed. Clemoes and Hughes, pp. 35-48 at 45, argues that a *peregrinus* would need a *patronus*.

80) Hahn, *Bonifaz*, p. 144. This would stand in contrast to Boniface's own claim, in a letter, to be *ignobili stirpe procreatum*. But as Levison noted this may be an affectation of humility (*England and the Continent*, p. 70). See also C.Holdsworth, 'Saint Boniface the Monk', in *The Greatest Englishman*, ed. Reuter, pp. 47-67 at 52-3, who argues that Boniface came from a family of high status.

81) EHD, p. 826 n.4 and no. 159, p. 782 ff. The Life of Leoba dates from the ninth century.

82) Hahn, *Bonifaz*, pp. 141-47. Tangl distinguishes the following five groups: Wigbert abbot, no. 40; Wigbert *presbiter*, nos. 40, 41; Wigbert (II) abbot, no. 132; Wiehtbert *presbiter*, nos. 55, 101, 102; Uigbert *presbiter*, T.137, 138. Other letters Hahn ascribed to the Glastonbury Wihtbert include; no. 141, (Tangl, p. 281 n.9) - because it wished the unnamed recipient luck on a journey; and further with some reservation no. 144, 145, 146 (Hahn, *Bonifaz*, p. 144 n.7). Slover, 'Glastonbury Abbey', p. 150, thought Wihtbert could be none other than the missionary of that name mentioned by Bede (HE V, 9); objections may be made on a number of grounds: Slover was seeking to establish Irsh connections with Glastonbury and hence his certainty; but the name was common and the chronology of the two

Wihtbert's does not square. O.Holder-Egger thought Wihtbert was the same as Wigbert the first abbot of Fritzlar, *Vita Wigberti abbatis Friteslariensis auctore Lup*', ed. O.Holder-Egger, MGH Scriptores 15, Supplementa I-XII (Hannover, 1887), pp. 36-43 at 39 n.1.

83) W.G.Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (London, 1897), *s.v. Wigbeort* and *Wihtbeort.*

84) Tangl, no. 55, pp. 97-8.

85) On this letter and confraternity see Hahn, 'Die Namen', p. 125; cf. J.Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen* (Berlin, 1988), pp. 8-84, for the letters 25-79, for Coengils of Glastonbury, p. 146.

86) Coengils' predecessor, Echfrid, appears only in 719; DA §40, pp. 92-7. Coengils received land in 729 (S.253) and witnessed S.254 (737). His successor is recorded in 744 (S.1410)

87) Hahn, *Bonifaz*, pp. 148-50; followed by A.W.Haddan and W.Stubbs (ed.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869-78) III 343. The mistake is made by Henry of Huntingdon; Hahn *ib.*, p. 149 n.1.

88) For errors in the DA see Appendix II; for the Chronicle, cf. the incorrect date recorded for the death of Bishop Haeddi (Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 109-10).

89) Hahn, *Bonifaz*, p. 148. Hahn preferred to identify him with Aldhelm II abbot of Malmesbury, but cf. Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 116-19.

90) Tangl, no. 129; the suggestion was first made by Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 174. His dates are 746-754x755/7-760.

91) S.245; Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 107-14. On the numbers of Houses see Campbell, 'First Century', p. 61; E.Fletcher, 'The Influence of Merovingian

Gaul on Northumbria in the Seventh Century', *Medieval Archaeology* 34 (1980), 69-86; and cf. the map in *Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Campbell, p. 71.

92) Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 183-84.

93) The phrase *status et prosperitas regni nostri* may have meant the king expected the cooperation of the monasteries.

94) Note that neither charter granted free abbatial elections. Cf. the comments of T.Reuter, '"The Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration', *JEH* 33 (1982), 347-74 at 360; and now D.Geuenich, 'Zur Stellung und Wahl des Abtes in der Karolingerzeit', in *Person und Gemeinschaft im Mittelalter*, ed. G.Althoff *et al.* (Sigmaringen, 1988), pp. 171-86, who argues that in the early ninth century even where free elections were guaranteed, the ruler continued to influence them.

95) Aldhelm styled himself *seruus seruorum Dei*, which although not exclusively used of bishops in this period, would have conveyed the sense of religious leader and perhaps in effect bishop. Cf. Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 110-111. On Aldhelm's secular and pastoral work, whilst still abbot, see his *Epistola ad Acircium*, Lapidge and Herren, *Prose Works*, pp. 45-6.

96) On Wilfrid's struggle to control his monasteries see E.John, 'The Social and Political Problems of the Early English Church', *Land, Church and People*, ed. J.Thirsk (1970), pp. 39-63. Cf. Cubitt, 'Episcopal Elections', 18-38. For a continental parallel with which Wilfrid may have been familiar see Nelson, 'Queens as Jezebels', pp. 1-48, esp. 23ff. For the on-going struggle in the South-East see Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 175-206.

97) Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 22-33; P.Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop' in *Famulus Christi*, ed. G.Bonner (London, 1976), 141-69.

98) John, 'Political Problems'. Cf. the Council of Hertford: HE IV, 5. Bede here implies that there were unconsecrated monasteries, presumably those he disliked; see his *Epistola ad Ecgberctum*, ed. Plummer I, 405-23 at 414-16. Cf. Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict', p. 163, n.53 and 'The Age of Bede', p. 84. The pressure created by new sees would presumably have increased competition, as dioceses became smaller.

99) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 104. William in his forged privilege of Ine claimed that Glastonbury had received papal protection from Gregory III. He cites a number of elements which can be found in early papal privileges, which would suggest his familiarity with them, but nothing in the charter would allow the argument that William was using a genuine document of Gregory III; DA, §42, pp. 98-103.

100) Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III, 455. Cf. P.Wormald, 'In Search of King Offa's "Law-Code"', forthcoming. Aldhelm twice refers to *uectigal et fiscale tributum*: *De Metris* and *De Virginitate*, *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 71 and 250. Bede complained of the *tributum* collected by bishops; *Ep. ad Ecgberctum*, ed. Plummer I, 410. Wilfrid clearly indictates that monasteries needed tribute to buy off predatory lords: *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Colgrave, p. 136. More generally see T.Reuter, 'Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire', *TRHS* 35 (1985), 75-94. For the tribute expected of certain Carolingian monasteries see *Notitia de Servitio Monasteriorum*, ed. D.Becker in *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum* I, ed. K.Hallinger (Siegburg, 1963), pp. 483-99.

101) GP 196, 354.

102) GP 345 (Malmesbury), 346 (Frome, Bradford), 374 (Bruton); K.Barker, 'The Early History of Sherborne', in *Church in the South-Western Peninsula*,

ed. S.Pearce, BAR 102 (1982), pp. 77-116 at 86; G.F.Browne, *St.Aldhelm* (London, 1903), p. 124 ff; Lapidge and Herren, *The Prose Works*, p. 19.

1030) On the *Carmina* see Lapidge and Herren, *ib.*, p. 186 n.23; *The Poetic Works*, p. 261 n.13. For Haemgils see above §3.3. On Echfrid see A.S.Cook, 'Who was the Ehfrid of Aldhelm's Letter', *Speculum* 2 (1927), 363-73; but cf. Lapidge and Herren, *Prose Works*, p. 145.

103) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 117.

104) Most of the evidence is noted by Stubbs, *Dictionary of Christian Biography, s.v.* Haeddi; but he confused the bishop of Wessex with Headdi of Lichfield.

105) GP 159.

106) *ib.*

107) Attenborough, *Laws*, p. 36.

108) But see above §3, p. 119.

109) S.1249.

110) On which see Whitelock, *Bishops of London*, pp. 5-10; Wormald, *Charter Evidence*, pp. 9-11. Where Eorconwald's charters were to found monasteries, Haeddi's one grant is of a relatively small land-unit to an existing foundation.

111) The charter is dated by the 5th indiction and the incarnation 680. Since the incarnation-date may have been added later (inaccurately) the indiction should be preferred (Edwards, *Charters*, p. 18). The cycles falling in Haeddi's episcopacy are 677 and 692. If the date 678 is accepted as the foundation-date then the later of these two dates is correct.

112) S.236; cf. Aldhelm's subscription to S.237. On the drafters/scribes of early charters see Edwards, *Charters*, p. 31 and P.Sims-Williams, 'St Wilfrid and Two Charters Dated AD 676 and 680', *JEH* 39 (1988), 163-183 at

165-66. On later charters cf. Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 27 n.43; M.Lapidge 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold. His Career and Influence*, ed. B.Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 89-117 at 90-96.

113) *Acta Sanctorum Julii* II, 482-3.

114) DA, §32, pp. 84-5; on the names William says: *Quid hec significent non temere diffinio, sed ex suspicione colligo eorum interius in cauatis lapidibus contineri ossa, quorum exterius leguntur nomina.*

115) D.Rollason, 'The Shrines of Saints in Later Anglo-Saxon England: Distribution and Significance', in *Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. Butler and Morris, pp. 32-43 at 36.

116) S.1253. Forthere used the humility formula which may be associated with the drafter or writer of a charter; as n.23.

117) I have largely followed Edwards, *Charters.*

118) S.238; DB 90d. At least there is no record that the land was lost.

119) For the value of jurisdiction see S.P.J.Harvey, 'The Extent and Profitability of Demesne Agriculture in England in the Later Eleventh Century', *Social Relations and Ideals*, ed. T.H.Aston *et al.* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 45-72. For the hundreds see Thorn, 'Hundreds and Wapentakes' in *The Somerset Domesday*, ed. R.W.Erslane and A.Williams, Alecto Historical Editions (London, 1989), pp. 32-41 with accompanying map, no.12.

120) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 24; but the increase in hidation may be due to reassessment in DB and not to any increase in the extent of the land.

121) Cf. Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, pp. 149-51. Grundy suggested that the boundary extended to the sea to include the later parishes of Lympsham, Brean, Berrow and Burnham.

122) DA, §40, pp. 92-7; to Abbot Berwald, Ine gave *Escford dimidiam hidam cum captura piscium*; to Abbot Echfrid, Ine gave *unam hidam, cum captura*

piscium, Axe. The latter is glossed *Scipelade*; identified by Morland, 'Somerset Manors', p. 108; on the place-name see Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, pp. 73-5, 'river-crossing frequented by sheep'.

123) On *Bledenythe* see Gelling, *Place-Names in the Landscape*, pp. 77-8, 'Bledda's landing-place'. Compare the grant of Baldred to Haemgils, *capturam piscium in Pedride* (DA, §38, pp. 90-3) and those others to Muchelney, SS.1176, 244. Cf. the dietary provisions of Theodore's canons, II,11.3: Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III, 183.

124) On settlements developed along the river Axe see Aston, 'Towns of Somerset', pp. 172-74; P.Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar*, BAR 65 (1979), pp. 3-12.

125) S.606. See further, P.Sawyer, 'Kings and Merchants', in *Medieval Kingship*, ed. Sawyer and Wood, pp. 139-58. Other grants of Ine's included 12 hides at Zoy (S.251) and land at *Oram*; one Bugga gave 3 hides at *Ora* to abbot Egfrith, which might be the same estate. The charter of Ine's may be a misrepresentation of Bugga's charter, perhaps because Ine confirmed it. William records only Bugga's charter and not Ine's which is recorded in the LT. The possibility that Ine's charter was a later adaptation cannot be ruled out (Edwards, *Charters*, p. 69). The estate(s) has been variously identified as Northover (So) and Ower (Hants), Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', pp.76, 89, both owned by the abbey in DB.

126) S.248.

127) Exceptions include, Glastonbury, Mere, Leigh, and Brent.

128) As below §6.1.

129) ASC A 728; Sisam, 'Royal Genealogies', 336.

130) DA, §42, pp. 98-103; Freeman, 'King Ine', p. 15 and note.

131) GR I, 35-6.

132) Freeman, 'King Ine', p. 16.

133) HE V, 7.

134) SS.254, 255. The latter is considered doubtful by Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 255-258.

135) S.253 and DA, §44, pp. 102-03. Egbert later granted land at Torridge to Glastonbury and it is a possibility that Æthelheard's charter was an earlier title deed which came to Glastonbury with the grant in the ninth century; the two grants differ in their hidation: 10 and 5.

136) DA, §44, pp. 102-03; on the estate see §6, pp. 274-76.

137) S.270a.

138) ASC E 740 has *maeg*; Florence has *propinquus* (*Chronicon*, ed. Thorpe I, 54); Simeon of Durham has *frater* (*Symeonis*, ed. Arnold II, 32).

139) S.259; Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 140-43.

140) S.256, S.257; Edwards, *ib.*, pp. 116-19, 45-8.

141) On the list cf. Edwards, *ib.*, pp. 243-52 and O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, pp. xxxvii-liii. The Sherborne list has a charter of Cuthred granting land *apud Menedip*; Glastonbury claimed a gift of Ine *ad pedem Munedup* (Lists A6).

142) O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, p. 87 f.

143) *Ep. ad Ecgberctum*, ed. Plummer I, 413-14.

144) *Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Colgrave, pp. 90-3; Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 38-52.

CHAPTER FIVE

Mercian Lordship

The patronage of the West Saxon kings may have extended to Glastonbury throughout the eighth century; perhaps a reflection of the importance of the monastery. It is remarkable that every West Saxon king of the period was said to have made some gift to the abbey[1]. This would include the more obscure kings such as Æthelheard and Sigebert. In return, however, for his grant of 22 and 6 hides, Abbot Tyccea paid Sigebert the sum of 100 gold *solidi*, for land in the Poldens, which Glastonbury may already have claimed[3]. Possibly it was the king and not the monastery which thereby benefited.

That some kings had a more direct interest and influence in the monastery is likely, as the case of Ine and his family suggests. But the nature of this relationship is difficult to determine. Wihtred demanded 'obedience' of his monasteries[4]. Ine may have attempted something similar, as also may Æthelbald, Offa and Cenwulf as overlords.

In this chapter I shall focus on the period of Mercian influence on Glastonbury in the late eighth century, where there is evidence to suggest that the monastery was owned by Mercian kings.

Whilst the importance of Glastonbury is difficult to assess, the interest taken by Mercian kings in a house associated with West Saxon kings is, I think, suggestive. First, Glastonbury was in a marginal region, in an earlier period lying between Briton and Saxon, and here between West Saxons and Mercians. Secondly, it was surely not simply the opportunity to exploit a wealthy monastery which attracted Mercian interest but more significantly

the means to establish a foot-hold in Wessex. Thirdly, the acquisition of large areas in Wessex provided land upon which Mercian kings might place their men and from which they might grant benefices.

5.1 Pope Leo's Privilege

William in his DA gives the text of a privilege of Pope Leo III (795-816) made to King Cynehelm in 798[5]. He and his *successores* were to hold the monastery of Glastonbury and all its possessions in perpetuity (*in perpetuum habendi*). King Cenwulf of Mercia confirmed the privilege in the same year[6].

The two documents, the privilege and the confirmation, survive only in the DA. It is not clear, however, where William found the material. Unlike the other privileges, and almost all the grants that he records, this one is not mentioned elsewhere. It may be that a copy was kept at Glastonbury and subsequently lost; in view of the traditional West Saxon control of Somerset and patronage of Glastonbury before and after 798, some antipathy towards this grant of the abbey to a Mercian king by a Mercian king should not be surprising. The question remains: how did William come to find it? One possibility is that he found the grant at Winchcombe, the family monastery of Cenwulf and possibly where he kept his charters[7].

William tells us that he found the charters in OE and so he translated them back into Latin for his readers' benefit. Thus the grants, if genuine, must have been translated from Latin into OE[8]. This would hardly have been done by a member of the community at Glastonbury at any other time other than that of the original grant, since never thereafter is it likely that the abbey would have admitted a Mercian king as lord. This reinforces the

impression that the documents are genuine, as it is difficult to see whose interests a translation would have served at a later date[9]. It was, therefore, presumably made for the benefit of the Mercian royal family itself[10].

William certainly thought the papal privilege peculiar. He attempted to explain it in terms of power: perhaps (*fortasse*) he suggests, the privilege was granted as a result of a change in the state of the kingdoms (*mutato ut fit regnorum statu*) of Wessex and Mercia, for although Glastonbury is in Wessex the Mercian Kings either protected it *pro amore*, out of love, or ruled it *pro iure*, as of right[11]. Also he was not sure who the beneficiary, Cynehelm, was. He does note that Cenwulf had a son of the same name - the legendary St Kenelm - but William believed him to have been murdered after Cenwulf's death in 821 when he was only 7 years old[12].

Modern discussion of these documents began with the work of Robinson[13]. He accepted the documents as 'substantially genuine'; the 'character' of the privilege being in harmony with the date. In particular he called attention to the attestations of the papal notaries Eustachius and Paschalis who appear in another papal document[14]. Robinson futher notes that the privilege does not contain exemption from spiritual control by the bishop, as later privileges claimed,[15] and it thus stands in contrast to the privilege obtained by Cenwulf for Abingdon from the same Pope and from the later forged Glastonbury privileges of Ine and Edgar[16]. As for the recipient of the charter, Cynhelm, Robinson considered that he might have been the son of Cenwulf, since a Canterbury charter of 799 mentions one *cenelm filius regis* (S.156) and further that he might be the same as the *dux cynehelm* who witnessed charters from 803 to 811[17]. Robinson conjectured that Cynhelm died before 'the birth of the younger (St) Kenelm in 814'.

Finally, in a more general context Robinson saw the documents as illustrating the overlordship of Mercia shortly before it began to break down. Robinson surmised that an agreement was reached, that should Mercian control over Wessex cease, the Mercian royal family should maintain control of Glastonbury.

Levison discussed the legend of St Kenelm and the development of Winchcombe Abbey[18]. He accepted some of Robinson's conclusions but thought there was no need to postulate two Cynehelms since the second was no more than a 'shadow' of the real bearer of the name. More importantly, he drew attention to the fact that the papal privilege was based on a formula, no.93, to be found in the *Liber Diurnus*[19]. This formula was a privilege granted by Pope Hadrian to Offa and his wife Cynethryth, confirming their proprietorial rights to certain (unnamed) monasteries. He thus set the gift of Glastonbury into the context of Mercian control and ownership of monasteries.

More recently still, Barker and Edwards have argued that both documents are genuine. Barker, in particular, noted the unusual dating clause of the papal privilege which could only have come from a genuine papal document of 798[20]. Edwards demonstrated that the form of the confirmation is consistent with the diplomatic of Cenwulf's charters and at the very least that there is nothing anachronistic in the charter[21]. She points out, further, that the privilege is important in the development of the Mercian and West Saxon kingdoms, suggesting that the Mercian control of Glastonbury was part of a short-lived attempt to take over north Somerset between 794 and 801[22].

Mercian Control: Offa and Ecgfrith

The obvious implication of Pope Leo's privilege to Cynehelm is that the Mercians had extended their *lordship* into the heart of Somerset. In 746 Æthelbald had been able to do the same when he granted land in Somerset directly to the abbot of Glastonbury[23]. In 786 the West Saxon king, Cynewulf, was murdered and his successor, Beorhtric, in marrying Offa's daughter in 789 must have come to some agreement with the Mercian king[24]. In 794 Offa granted land in central Somerset north of the Parrett to his thegn Æthelmund[25], which William claims was then given to Glastonbury[26]. Offa also gave directly to the abbey land at *Ineswyrth*, possibly in Somerset[27]. In the same year 794, Beorhtric, king of Wessex granted to the *prefectus* Wigferth, land also to the north of the Parrett - and not far from that granted by Offa[28]. But perhaps any putative agreement between Offa and Beorhtric should not be taken to have been an exact division of lands. Offa may simply have taken what he wanted (as Wormald has argued more generally for Offa's overlordship)[29]. The end of Mercian control is hardly a necessary conclusion in the light of the grant by Eadburh, Offa's daughter, in 801. Furthermore, the Chronicle records that Egbert did not defeat the Mercians unitl 829, despite succeeding to the kingdom in 802[30]. Only one of Egbert's charters can be dated to an earlier period and that is one to the abbot of Glastonbury of land in Devon, dated 802. The date is given only by William and looks suspiciously as if it has been chosen as the first year of Egbert's reign[31]. Thus it may be that Mercian control of north Somerset should be seen as extending into the early ninth century[32]. What is more important from Glastonbury's point of view is that the Mercian kings saw fit to take a direct interest in the abbey - more specifically, in a monastery associated with West Saxon kings[33].

The patronage of monasteries has been seen as an important means to consolidate political control in disputed territory[34]. In a later period this is evident in the struggle between Stephen and Matilda, from both of whom Glastonbury received privileges[35]. On the continent, Charles Martel sought the support of the monastery of St Denis to secure control of the region around Paris[36]; on the margins of the Carolingian territory San Vincenzo was significant as an outpost of Carolingian authority[37].

There appear to be two distinct ways of employing the church to win control of disputed lands. First, a monastery that lay in such lands could be patronised. Second, such lands could be granted to the church (as, for example, Charlemagne granted two strategically important Alpine valleys to St Denis and St Martin of Tours)[38]. West Saxon kings, as they expanded their territory westward, granted lands to the church and to Glastonbury: lands beyond, perhaps, the reach of practicable control[39], but nonetheless an important expression of their power both to those at home and to those newly conquered.

A monastery provided the means to control territory. Glastonbury owned large tracts of land in central Somerset - holding key positions on the Fosse Way, covering both north-south and east-west routes[40]. This sort of control must have been practical, involving the use and exploitation of estates, of raising revenue and manpower[41]. But control could be exercised through less tangible, symbolic means. If Ine, Cuthred and Cynewulf were still remembered as patrons of Glastonbury, and if Centwine was thought to have been buried there, it cannot have been anything but a dramatic affirmation of Mercian ability to strike at West Saxon kings. Beorhtric was never a patron of Glastonbury. In establishing his son in possession of

Glastonbury, possibly before a great meeting of Mercian and West Saxon nobles, Cenwulf was making a pointed political gesture.

The expression of such symbolism is hard to establish beyond this. At San Vincenzo the Carolingians built a great church[42], but whilst Hodgkin alleged 'Offa ingratiated himself with the West Saxons by building a very beautiful church at Glastonbury', there is unfortunately no evidence for this claim[43]. Just as Cenwulf felt the need to establish a genealogy for himself - which has a number of names common to the successors of Cerdic - so, in taking Glastonbury, he was in a sense striking at the West Saxon genealogy through the West Saxon patrimony[44].

The papal privilege implies that Ecgfrith had had the lordship of Glastonbury to grant away. It seems likely that he received the monastery from his father: it could even have been one of those monasteries confirmed to Offa by Hadrian (see below). There is no evidence for this however, unless it is assumed that Offa gave land to Glastonbury because he expected tribute from it.

It is not clear when or if the West Saxon king, Beorhtric, relinquished a claim on Glastonbury. He is referred to in the papal privilege as agreeing to Ecgfrith's initial gift, but, given Mercian supremacy, this agreement may only have been nominal. The agreement was witnessed only by Mercian bishops and *principes*. Beorhtric is not mentioned in the later confirmation of Cenwulf.

The monastery was clearly important to Ecgfrith, for the privilege implies that when he wrote to the Pope, he attached a survey of the estates of the abbey. The wording here is significant. William gives it thus:

the Pope confirms to Cynhelm the monastery of Glastonbury in the West Saxon kingdom *in quo monasterio seruorum Dei congregacio est cuius terre ad octingentas hidas numerantur in multis prouinciis et locis posite sicut Egfridus rex omnem illam terram descripsit cum iudicio et licentia Brihtrici regis et cum licencia et testimonio Merciorum episcoporum et principum..*[45].

Now William uses the term *descripsit*. In contemporary continental sources this implies a survey of the estates: the *descriptio*[46]. Could a similar count have been taken by Ecgfrith? The Pope refers to a meeting of Beohrtric and the Mercian nobles to confirm and to give licence to, Ecgfrith's survey - which again recalls the public surveys on the continent[47]. The confirmation of such surveys had an important public aspect since they could be used not only to establish what lands were in question but could also be used as title of ownership. Stenton suggested that such a record (or list) would have been more convenient for reference than a bundle of land-books and could be recited on solemn (presumably public) occasions[48].

It is worth asking what was being confirmed by Leo. The confirmation by Cenwulf states that Ecgfrith granted the monastery to Cynehelm and hence it must be this gift which is being corroborated and by the Pope - once he had been sent a survey of the estates. Such a survey may simply have been a list of the estates and their hidage, or it may have contained a more detailed account of the possessions and personnel on the estates or even of the rights that pertained to the ownership of an estate. There is little in England with which to compare the survey, though on the continent there is a whole range of *descriptiones*[49]. A few Anglo-Saxon charters do have extensive lists of estates, particularly those which claim to be

confirmations, but these are generally disreputable. Whether these charters were based on earlier documents or not, lists of estates must have been available to those who drafted them and, for example, in the case of the Pagham, Selsey and Pershore charters these were available in the tenth century[50]. Each of these lists was produced to establish ownership, and in the case of those which comprised the endowment of the South Saxon diocese (Pagham and Selsey) they were used in a dispute over ownership[51]. Asser also had lists concerning his monasteries of Banwell and Congresbury, but these may have related to moveable objects rather than to land[52]. None of the extant lists mentions more than the name of the estate and the hidage. But in his privilege of 798 concerning Glastonbury the Pope recalls 'those lands in many regions and places' and hence it may be that the original survey of the abbey's estates was more detailed than those lists which have survived, or at least that the Pope's information indicated the diversity of regions. There is clearly an important distinction to make between lists on the one hand, and surveys like the continental *descriptiones* on the other.

Of this suggested survey there is now no trace. It is possible that, like the privilege and the confirmation, the survey was not kept at Glastonbury - at least there is no evidence in Glastonbury archives for these documents. But then very little evidence survives of estate surveys at any time before the DB. This in turn raises the question of the practicality of keeping such documents: the privilege's absence from record should not be surprising[53].

Perhaps the most striking feature of the privilege is its reference to the 800 hides owned by the abbey. The number is written in full and not in Roman numerals so there is less chance of its having been mis-copied. But

equally the OE version used by William might have been manipulated, most obviously in altering the number of hides. The total of 800 hides is suspiciously similar to that recorded for the abbey in DB[54]. Since, however, the privilege apparently did not survive at Glastonbury itself it is difficult to appreciate a motive for altering the hidage. The figure could have been altered after William had written the DA, that is between c.1135 and thirteenth century when the MS was written. But the calculation of the total DB hidage as being about 800 is a modern one and not necessarily one which would have been easily reached by the hypothetical interpolator. William, in his lists of gifts to the abbey in the reigns of Edmund and Edgar, gives a total for the number of hides received. These totals tally with the charters he lists for those reigns however, where the 800 hides do not.

It is worth asking if the total of 800 hides is a credible figure for the late eighth century. Unfortunately, we know so little about the size of any church holdings that it is difficult to make any comparison. But Brooks has argued that the extent of the landed endowment of Christ Church Canterbury before 798 was 'little smaller than the total holdings of the archbishop and community in 1066', that is 305½ sulungs and 557½ hides[55]. This dramatic conclusion would suggest that by the end of the eighth century the total of 800 hides was not an impossible number for a well-endowed community to possess. This does raise the question of how far Canterbury, as the metropolitan see, can be compared with Glastonbury[56]. But those charters which do survive for Glastonbury, either in the LT or in DA, do not add up to a figure of 800 hides. If all the hides of charters cited by William before c.800 are added together they total some 400[57].

Some considerable loss of documents would have to be postulated to account for the discrepancy of 400 hides[58].

Whether or not Ecgfrith had a survey of the estates of the monastery, the fact remains that he took considerable interest in the extensive estates of the abbey. The suggested survey is important for its implicatons about the control of territory. On a far larger scale the Mercian kings had used a *list*[59] to record the tribute owed by subjugated (or incorporated) territories - however ambitious or impractical[60]. It seems reasonable to suppose that the estates of the monasteries that were claimed by the kings of Mercia were also surveyed, and it may not be coincidental that continental surveys appear (in the *surviving* evidence) from c.800[61].

Cenwulf and Cynehelm

It was possibly to gain support when he became sole king in 796 that Cenwulf granted Glastonbury to the family of Cynhelm. Offa had gone to considerable lengths to arrange for the succession of his son[62]. But Ecgfrith ruled as king for only 141 days after the death of his father[63] and Cenwulf probably succeeded to the throne in 798 precisely because he was the most powerful contender. Thus during Ecgfrith's short reign the family of Cenwulf may have been the greatest threat to his continued rulership. This threat may explain why Ecgfrith, in a very brief period, made a comparatively large number of grants: to buy support[64].

There is one remarkable passage in the confirmation of Cenwulf which supports the notion that Cenwulf also experienced some difficulty in securing his succession. After the attestation of Abbess *Kinedrith*, 'she'adds:

..si eciam post tempus contigerit quod uenerabilis loci Glastoniensis possessionem et potestatem alterius progeniei homo suscipiat, tamen Kinelmus et eius successores stabiliter ....permaneant in sua libertate..[65]

Robinson suggested that this clause was a provision for the breakdown of Mercian control[66], although it may have lasted for some time beyond this. *Kinedrith* might also have been envisaging the conflict among rival Mercian dynasties: it is thus worth considering the possibility that the passage reflected the events of the years 796-98. Little is known of Cenwulf, of how or when he came to the throne.

His genealogy, probably compiled in the first years of his reign, describes his descent from Pybba and the rest of the Mercian family, seven generations previously[67]. The connection is tenuous particularly since it goes back such a considerable length of time, but also because it links Cenwulf with Pybba whom the author of the *Historia Brittonum* states had 12 sons, Cenwealh, Cenwulf's ancestor, not being among them[68]. The claim of descent from Pybba may be akin to that of the West Saxon kings' descent from Cerdic: a claim for legitimacy.

Not only is Cenwulf's background obscure but so also is his succession to the kingdom. Ecgfrith reigned for less than 5 months and then died, though we do not know in what circumstances. His death might have easily been a violent one as a peaceful one[69]. Similarly, Cenwulf is only recorded as King of Mercia in 798, two years after Ecgfrith's death. It was exactly these two years which Eadberht Praen used to take and rule Kent before Cenwulf's expedition against him[70]. In other words the year 797 is completely obscure and it may be that Cenwulf spent this time 796-798 securing his claim to the throne[71]. It is perhaps significant that the first documents of Cenwulf's to have survived come from the year 798.

Furthermore, they largely relate to control of the church and monasteries[72]. Thus Cenwulf claimed Glastonbury and possibly Winchcombe, for his son[73].

5.2 The nature of the grant

Leo's privilege, based on the papal formula of the *Liber Diurnus* (93), used in Hadrian's grant to Offa[74], is an extraordinary document: the Pope granted (in both Leo's and Hadrian's case) proprietorial rights over monasteries. Where previously privileges had been secured to protect a monastery from the intervention of bishops and laity, for example in the seventh century[75], here the case was reversed and lay control was being encouraged. The circumstances of these concessions may also have been exceptional. Hadrian came from a noble Roman family and as such had the support of local power[76]. Yet in a letter to Charlemagne he expressed his fear that Offa was planning to depose him[77]. Clearly Offa's influence extended to Rome and it may have been in self-defence that Hadrian granted the privilege to Offa[78]. The position in Rome of Hadrian's successor, Leo, was even more insecure. In 799 he suffered attack by the nephews of Hadrian[79]. Again, it may have been by way of a 'pay-off' that Leo granted a privilege to Cenwulf[80].

In *Liber Diurnus* 93 Hadrian confirmed to Offa, his wife and *natorum uestrorum genealogia in perpetuum, dicio* [jurisdiction] over *plurima monasteria..diuersa agrorum predia ac possessiones et famulorum multitudinem*[81]. The privilege, however, mentions only *dicio* (=*dominatio*) and not *possessio*, used in early Anglo-Saxon charters[82]. The dispute over the Kentish monasteries likewise depended upon *dicio*, or *dominatio*[83]. This

lordship was claimed by successive kings and archbishops and may have involved the collection of *tributum* and influence over the abbatial elections.

The privilege to Glastonbury follows *Liber Diurnus* 93 but only as far as the proem. The *dispositio* is not the same[84]. The privilege confirms to Cynehelm and his successors the concession granted by kings (*reges*), bishops and nobles (presumably the kings were Ecgfrith and Beorhtric): that is, the right to hold freely the monastery and its appurtenances (*libere in perpetuum habendi*). What is remarkable is that the monastery itself was being confirmed upon Cynhelm to have forever - something which does not appear to have been confirmed by Hadrian to Offa.

It is even more extraordinary that neither in the confirmation of Leo nor in that of Cenwulf is there mention of Cynehelm having a prior right to the monastery of Glastonbury. By contrast Hadrian confirmed the monasteries that Offa had built or that he had justly (*iuste*) acquired. Hadrian's privilege could hardly claim to be canonical but it could claim to be maintaining the status quo of lay (in this case Offa's) control of monasteries[85] - something certainly not new. On the other hand Leo was confirming the concession of a monastery into lay hands and the layman concerned was making, it seems, no prior claim.

Yet in the face of so dramatic a concession the Pope gave the confirmation on the condition of continued religious observance at Glastonbury. He specifically noted that the congregation of God's servants in the monastery should maintain the lights, psalms and masses and the daily observance of spiritual offices and that the monastery should remain constant and stable for all time (*firmum et stabile in omnia tempora*

perseveret)[86]. Clearly the Pope intended the monastery to remain active under lay control and perhaps Cynehelm was its lay-abbot[87].

Cenwulf confirmed the *libertas* of the Pope's gift: that Cynehelm was to hold Glastonbury forever, *largior firmiter habendam* - echoing the papal confirmation *libere in perpetuum habendi*. The liberty could be a 'positive' instrument in that it conveyed certain rights of jurisdiction[88]. Like an immunity, it could be 'negative' in granting the recipient freedom from obligations to the king, (as for example did Wiglaf's charter to the monastery at Heanbury (S.190)) and freedom from outside interference from local lords as well as ecclesiastics[89]. William may have understood the privilege to have been in effect a liberty of the type with which he was familiar in the twelfth century[90]. There is, however, no evidence for such grants in the eighth century. It is more likely the liberty granted freedom from outside interference, something church councils were keen to assert[91]. Cenwulf also received a privilege from Pope Leo, based on a different formula (Liber Diurnus no.86) giving his monasteries exemption from episcopal interference and placing the monastery concerned directly under the authority of the Pope[92].

In the Glastonbury confirmation the subscription of *Kinedrith* (quoted above p. 204), takes our understanding of Cynehelm's rights over Glastonbury a step further. By implication she suggests that Cynehelm had been given the *possessio* and *potestas* (perhaps the *dicio*) and that this was to remain among his own progeny. Should men of another descent-line take-over Cynehelm and his successors would retain their liberty. The word 'successors' would suggest people who took some 'office', since the word clearly need not necessarily mean heirs. In this case *Kinedrith* is making a distinction between an office to be held by the successors - which must be

the abbacy - and the power over the estates. The *libertas* was thus to guarantee Cynehelm's freedom to hold the abbacy and presumably to control the monastery itself. It is not clear, though, how the control of the abbacy and monastery could be separated from the *possessio* and *potestas*: the power over the estates.

Kinedrith's attestation is the clearest indication we have that the monastery had been owned by, or at least claimed as a possession of, the direct descendants of Cenwulf and Cynehelm[93]. The *dicio* over the monastery was being given to Cynehelm and his direct descendants and not to those of his extended family or even a Mercian royal family, but specifically to his (narrow) descent line. This unusual phrase does recall Hadrian's privilege to Offa and his *natorum vestrorum genealogia.* Both of these phrases suggest that there was some concern on the part of Offa and Cynehelm (or Cenwulf/*Kinedrith*) to secure the monasteries in question upon their direct descendants. Elsewhere in the more general problem of succession to the throne Offa had adopted a similar measure in securing his son Ecgfrith as his heir (and it is he, surely, who is referred to in *natorum vestorum genealogia*). In other words the claims of the *stirps regia* were being proscribed in favour of the direct descent line, not only in terms of kingship but also in terms of royal possession of monasteries[94]. The subscription goes further to state that should the *possessio* and *potestas* fall into the hands of someone else Cynehelm should still retain the liberty. It is difficult to see what this could mean other than that where the lordship over the monastery was lost the abbacy was to remain in the hands of Cynehelm.

The Witnesses

The details given by William suggest that this was an occasion comparable to that at Clovesho in 825[95]. Parallels can be found for the large number of bishops and *principes* present but the thirteen abbots are very unusual[96]. The only other occasion where so large a number are recorded is in another council at Clovesho in 803; that council was purely ecclesiastical whereas this involved both church and laity[97]. Cenwulf had apparently secured an extraordinary attendance. This in turn surely reflects the nature of the grant for which Cenwulf must have been keen to seek the support of the church and the laity: given the position of Glastonbury on the frontier between Mercia and Wessex, it may have been important for Cenwulf to secure the subscription of West Saxon as well as Mercian nobles.

The confirmation of Cenwulf was witnessed by Abbess *Kinedrith cum carissimis cognatis meis Ethelburh et Celfled*. Then follows Cenwulf's own subscription. William adds that a further two archbishops, nine bishops, thirteen abbots and six *principes* witnessed the charter. Of these William tells us only the names of the archbishops and Abbot Beadwulf of Glastonbury[98]. The witness-list is unusual in that the king is placed second, after that of *Kinedrith*, and also in that the subscription of the abbess is more than a brief subscription. It may be that William's own interest in *Kinedrith's* words led him to place her subscription immediately after the body of the charter. Yet in the witness-list of the Council of Clovesho (825) Cwenthryth, Cenwulf's daughter, subscribes first before that of King Beornwulf of Mercia. This council was likewise concerned with the ownership of monasteries claimed by Cenwulf and his heirs.

Given *Kinedrith*'s interest in Cynehelm's family, it is important to establish who she was. There are two obvious possibilities as to her identity: first, that she was the wife of Offa, Cynethryth; and second, that she was the daughter of Cynewulf, Cwenthryth. The spelling of the name as William gives it would suggest Cynethryth rather than Cwenthryth but the spelling cannot be relied upon since the two names were sometimes confused by later copyists[99].

One abbess Cynethryth is mentioned in a dispute over the monastery of Cookham and certain other lands. The dispute is dated 798, but the survivng MS witness is of the thirteenth century[100]. Offa was accused of having kept lands that had been given to the church at Canterbury and having left them to his heirs without the evidence of documents. Abbess Cynethryth came to an agreement with Archbishop Æthelheard that she should keep the monastery at Cookham in exchange for returning lands in Kent that Offa had appropriated and left to his heirs. In view of this it has been considered that the abbess in question was Offa's wife, and also *Kinedrith* of the Glastonbury charter[101].

Cynethryth, Offa's wife, appears in a long series of charters attesting as *regina* after her husband (and followed by Ecgfrith) until 788/90[102]. Thereafter only Ecgfrith witnesses with Offa. In Ecgfrith's reign she appears in two charters for St Alban's but neither of these can be trusted[103]. Thus the appearance of Offa's wife as an abbess in a charter of 798 in the reign of a distant relation would be surprising[104].

Further evidence that has been used to show that it was Cynethryth that witnessed the Glastonbury confirmation, comes from another charter S.127. This claims to have been witnessed by Offa's wife and daughters: *Ethelburga abbatissa, Ælflaed or (Æthelflaeda), Eadburga* and

Æthelswithe[105]. It has been suggested that the *Ethelburh and Celfled*, with whom *Kinedrith* witnesses the Glastonbury confirmation, are two of the daughters of Offa mentioned in S.127 and hence that *Kinedrith* must be their mother[106]. If this is correct then it must be assumed that William or the scribe of his exemplar made an error and rendered *Æelflaed* as *Celfled*[107] - although the name Ceolflaed is attested in its own right[108]. The name also alliterates with those other names of Cenwulf's family. If the name is corrected to Ælflaed then it is still unclear as to who was meant since Cwenthryth appears in a grant with a cousin of that name[109]. The name *Ethelburh*, however, does not appear in connection with Cwenthryth and her family[110].

Kinedrith claimed in effect that the monastery should remain among the direct descendants of Cynehelm, whether the lordship changed or not. It would make more sense if she was a member of that same family. In other words, her unusual appearance could be accounted for by a grant of importance to her family, just as she figured in the council of 825 which also concerned the possessions of her family.

Ninth-Century Mercian Interest

While the monastery of Glastonbury was granted to Cynehelm and his successors, there is no evidence to suggest that they retained an interest in Glastonbury after 798. Cynehelm is not mentioned again in connection with the abbey nor is anyone who can be identified as being his kinsman. There are other signs of some Mercian interest however.

It is possible that Cenwulf's control of North Somerset may not have been so short-lived - or at least it may have taken a few years after Egbert's succesion before he was powerful enough to harry the West Welsh

(in 815) and defeat the Mercians (in 825) (see above). As long as Cynehelm could keep possession of Glastonbury he might be expected to have preferred his own choice of abbot (if he was not abbot himself). During the reign of Offa the abbot of Glastonbury was one Beadwulf who, according to William, received land from that king. He was also a witness to Cenwulf's charter of confirmation. William states that Beadwulf was abbot for 6 years which if taken from 794 (the year of Offa's grant) gives the period for his abbacy 794x800. In 800 one Cuman is said to be abbot and to have remained so for 22 years[111] but since Muca was identified as abbot in 801 and, unlike Cuma, is attested in other sources[112], it has been suggested by Robinson that Cuma is a scribal error or 'ghost-word' for Muca[113]. Before Cuma is thus dismissed it is perhaps worth noting that the name is one which does appear in Anglo-Saxon sources[114]. The name also alliterates with those of Cynehelm's family.

Muca is an unusual name. It is recorded in the Durham *Liber Vitae* and it is the name of a dux or ealdorman, a contemporary of the Glastonbury abbot, who attests two charters (SS.186, 187) dated 822 and whose death is recorded in the Chronicle s.a. 824[115]. It would, therefore, seem possible that the abbot and ealdorman were related in some way. If this is accepted it would then be significant that Muca *dux* witnesses charters of the Mercian king Ceolwulf (and only his). The only other OE name beginning *Muc-* is Mucel which was also the name of two Mercian *duces*[116] one appearing from 814 to the 840s and the other from 840s to 866[117].

Subsequent patrons of the abbey were West Saxon kings and ealdormen with one exception: in the LT two charters of Burgred, king of Mercia (852x74) are recorded[118]. One is to Eanwulf of land at Binegar in Somerset. This is important since it is the only indication that Mercian kings after

Cenwulf retained any land holdings in Somerset. The Chronicle *s.a.* 853 records that both Burgred and Æthelwulf fought the Welsh together and that Æthelwulf married his daughter to Burgred. It therefore seems reasonable to suppose that they came to an agreement over the areas under their control but it is not at all clear what this entailed. Æthelwulf granted Clutton and Chewton, the only grants north of the Mendips in the ninth century by a West Saxon king[119].

The second grant of Burgred in the LT is the gift to Æthelred of land at Lydney (Glo)[120]. This too is interesting. The Æthelred in question may be the ealdorman who attests, in first place, one of Burgred's charters and who may be identical to the ealdorman of Mercia, husband of Æthelflaed lady of the Mercians and Alfred's son-in-law. Whoever Æthelred was, some explanation for the charter's presence in LT is needed for there is no further record of the estate or of any Glastonbury claim to it[121]. It is remotely possible that Æthelred either gave the estate to Glastonbury or that he deposited the charter there for safe-keeping. The latter would seem less likely as there is no other record of his charters at Glastonbury. Perhaps it is more probable that the charter came to Glastonbury via one of Æthelred's heirs or successors, such as Ælfhere ealdorman of Mercia, who was buried at Glastonbury and may have deposited his charters there.

Notes: Chapter Five

1) Ine, Æthelheard, Cuthred, Sigebert, Cynewulf and Beorhtric.

2) See DA, §47, pp. 104-07 and LT 63. It is not clear whether the two units of land were purchased in separate transactions. But note the LT preserved only one charter of Sigebert's. See O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, pp. xli-xlii.

3) Æthelheard had granted 60 hides in *Pothonholt* (DA, §44, pp. 102-03); it is not clear whether Sigebert's grant was additional to this, as suggested by Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', p. 79.

4) Brooks, *Early History*, p. 78.

5) DA, §50, pp. 108-09.

6) DA, §51, pp. 110-11; S.152.

7) That Cenwulf kept his charters at Winchcombe was suggested by Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 249-59; for the keeping of Glastonbury documents there, see Edwards, *Charters*, p. 52. It was possibly from Winchcombe that William found a copy of Pope Leo III's letter, otherwise known only from the GR I, 94-5.

8) Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 251 n. 1.

9) William did not include it in the GR, unlike all the other privileges. The documents appear in no other record.

10) Cf. Edwards (*Charters*, pp. 100-05) on the Malmesbury privilege also translated into OE (*s.x*). Mercian charters in OE are rare, cf. S.204 (844x5), S.223 (884x901) and S.98 (743x5) a translation from Latin. On a possible context for such translations see R.Vleeskruyer (ed.), *The Life of St Chad* (Amsterdam, 1953), p. 40 ff. But for a re-appraisal of the dating of this Life see J.M.Bately, 'Old English Prose before and during the Reign of Alfred', *ASE* 17 (1988), 93-138.

11) DA, §49, pp. 106-07.

12) And hence was not yet born in 798.

13) 'Saxon Abbots', p. 38 n. 3.

14) *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P.Jaffé, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1885-88), no. 2498, dated April 20 798. Eustace attests a letter of Leo to archbishop Æthelheard (BCS 305 for 802).

15) S.250; cf. the discussion of Glastonbury privileges which claim episcopal exemption, see Appendix I.

16) Abingdon claimed a privilege of Leo; *Chronicon*, ed. Stevenson I, 20; and S.183, which F.M.Stenton *The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon* (Reading 1913), p. 23, thought spurious. Cf. Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 189-93. Æthelred II's charter to Abingdon recalls not only earlier privileges of Edgar, Eadwig and Eadred, but also those of Leo III and Cenwulf. The charter of Æthelred claimed of these privileges that they made *prefatum monasterium omni terrene servitutis [iugo?] eodem tenore liberum*; words not found in S.183. Cf. S.876; John, 'Latin Charters', pp. 185-6; Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 98-101; A.Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. Yorke, pp. 43-64 at 53. It might be recalled that Abingdon was also on the southern borders of Mercia.

17) Cynhelm is referred to as the son of Cenwulf in two charters, S.156 and S.184 dated 799 and 821. The latter charter is extremely dubious. He witnessed as *princeps* S.1260 and S.168; and as *dux* in SS.1187, 159, 161, 40, 163, 164, 165. S.184 apart, the last charter he witnessed is S.168 dated 1 August 811. Since his anniversary is 17 July he could have died in 812 or thereafter.

18) *England and the Continent*, pp. 249-59.

19) The *Liber Diurnus* was a collection of papal formulae made *s.vi-ix* and

surviving in an early *s.ix* MS: H. Foerster, ed., *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum* (Berne, 1958).

20) On the date see Edwards, Charters, p. 53; cf. Barker, Charters, pp. 111-15.

21) *Charters*, p. 54.

22) 794: Offa's grant to Abbot Beadwulf (DA, §48, pp. 106-07) and 801 Eadburh's grant to Eadgils (S.270a).

23) Æthelbald granted *Jecesig* and *Bradanlege* to a layman, LT 22; either before or after he had sold the land to the abbot of Glastonbury, LT 94, DA, §46, pp 104-05. *Bradanlege* may be West Bradley, possibly owned by the abbey in 1066. Otherwise the names are lost; ECW, no. 634 and Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', p. 77.

24) Cf. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, p. 236 n. 30.

25) Ethelmund may have been ealdorman of the Hwicce: ASC AE 802; and SS.58, 59, 139, 149.

26) DA, §48, pp. 106-07, records a gift of Huntspill by Ethelmund with Offa's consent, to Glastonbury. The land was not owned by the abbey in 1066. This may be a case of William interpreting a grant to a layman as having been given to Glastonbury where perhaps it was not.

27) Offa gave to Abbot Beadwulf 10 hides at *Eswirht*. LT 28 has *Offa de Inesuuyrth. iuxta Hunespull'. S. qui G.* Were it not for the comment that Ineswyrth was next to Huntspill (So.) then this may be Insworth in Gloucester, as Finberg Suggests, ECWM, no. 47. There is, however, no indication today of where *iuxta* Huntspill the 10 hide estate could have been. Cf. Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', pp. 93-4.

28) S.267. On Wigferth see SS.261, 268, 269, 270a; and possibly ASC AE 757.

29) Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas*', pp. 99-129.

30) ASC AE 802, 815, 825, 829.

31) DA, §52, pp. 110-111. Cf. Sigebert's grant which is dated 754, but he ruled from 756. William may have taken the date from that of the Chronicle which gives, erroneously, 754. Presumably, either the date of the charter was wrong or William was unable to read the date (assuming there was one) and supplied his own. He could, of course, have *corrected* the date of the charter if he thought it wrong.

32) See P.Wormald, 'The Ninth Century', in *Anglo-Saxons* ed. Campbell, pp. 132-59 at 138.

33) Cf. Finberg's enthusiastic remark '..Cenwulf..contrived to turn Glastonbury, the most revered monastery in Wessex and the mausoleum of kings, into a private family possession': H.P.R.Finberg, *The Formation of England*, 3rd edn (Aylesbury, 1984), pp. 105-6.

34) See M.Chibnall, 'The Empress Matilda and Church Reform', *TRHS* 38 (1988), 107-30 at 109 ff. More generally see T.Noble, 'Louis the Pious and the Frontiers of the Frankish Realm', in *Charlemagne's Heir. New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)*, ed. P.Godman and R.Collins (Oxford, 1990), pp. 333-47.

35) GC I, 148-49. Matilda's gift was made in 1141.

36) Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, p. 132.

37) R. Hodges, J. Morland, H. Patterson, 'San Vincenzo al Volturno, the Kingdom of Benevento and the Carolingians', in *Papers in Italian Archaeology* IV part iv, BAR Int. 246 (1985), 261-85. Cf. J.M.H.Smith, 'Culte impérial et politique frontalière dans la vallée de la Vilaine: le témoignage des diplômes carolingiens dans le cartulaire de Redon', in *Landévennec et le monachisme breton dans le haut moyen âge*, ed. M.Simon (Landévennec, 1986), pp. 129-39.

38) C. C.Wickham, *Early Mediaeval Italy* (London, 1981), p. 48.

39) Cf. Finberg, 'Expansion of Wessex', where this is implied but not stated. Were daughter-houses built on these estates? Cf. the case of *Branucminster* and the loss of the Devon estates, below §6. On monasteries as colonies see e.g. H. Nitz, 'The Church as Colonist: the Benedictine Abbey of Lorsch and Planned Waldhufen Colonization in the Odenwald', *Journal of Historical Geography* 9(2) (1983), 105-26.

40) At Shepton Mallet: see below §6.1.

41) On military obligations from ecclesiastical estates see Brooks, 'Military Obligations', pp. 69-84; cf. J.L.Nelson, 'The Church's Military Service in the Ninth Century: A Contemporary Comparative View?', in her *Politics and Ritual*, pp. 117-32. This does raise the question of how difficult it would have been for the new Mercian lord to raise levies; at least Beorhtric, had he wanted to, could not. There is no evidence that military service was itself owed to the abbot, or that he was expected to fight when summoned. But certainly from the tenth century such might have been expected from bishops and their estates; cf. Abels, *Lordship* (London, 1988), pp. 153, 156 and for the ninth century cf. comments of Nelson, 'Military Service', p. 120.

42) Hodges *et al.* 'San Vincenzo'.

43) R.H.Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1935) II, 388. I do not know what source prompted Hodgkin's statement, unless he was reading into William's comment that Offa gave land to Beadwulf *ad supplementum venerabilis ecclesie* (DA, §48, pp. 106-07); cf. Appendix II. It has been suggested that the church was developed considerably in the eighth century, with a *terminus ante quem* of c.760; Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 115.

44) Cenwalh would, if a son of Pybba, be a contemporary of his name-sake; Centwine was his 'grandson'.

45) DA, §50, pp. 108-09, lines 11-14.

46) See R.H.C. Davis, 'Domesday Book: Continental Parallels', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. J.C.Holt (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 15-39.

47) Davis, *ib.*, pp. 20-1.

48) Stenton, 'Medeshamstede', pp. 179-92 at 183. And *The Life of Bishop Wilfred*, ed. Colgrave, pp. 34-7.

49) Cf. the examples listed by Davis, 'Continental Parallels', p. 20 ff. and pp. 30-9

50) Pagham (S.230), Selsey (S.232). On the Pershore charter (S.786) see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 98-101 at 100 n. 50. Cf. the lists in the Thorney charter S.792.

51) See Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 240-43.

52) Cf. S.Keynes and M.Lapidge, *Alfred the Great* (Harmondsworth, 1983), pp. 97 and 264 n. 191 where Asser's description is noted of *duas epistolas in quibus erat multiplex supputatio omnium rerum, quae erant in duobus monasteriis* (Banwell and Congresbury). This presumably refers to moveable objects; but note these formed part of some continental surveys; Davis, 'Continental Parallels', p. 20 ff.

53) For an example which has survived see A.J.Robertson (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 252-57 and 502-5. Cf. J.Campbell, 'Observations on English Government from the Tenth to the Eleventh Century', in his *Essays*, pp. 155-70 at 157-58.

54) I have calculated the figure as about 813 hides. This figure represents a total of all the estates in different counties, TRE. But note the great difficulty in accurately making such totals. Cf. the values of DB estates

given by D.Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1963), p. 702; and cf. Exon DB which provides its own tallies for Wilts, Dors and So, fol. 527b-8 and 173.

55) Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 100-7 at 107.

56) Only the archbishop was richer: Brooks, *Early History*, p. 313.

57) This figure is approximate only and inevitably involves a number of assumptions about the development of estates where perhaps the evidence does not warrant them. It is intended as a maximum possible figure.

58) But note that the Canterbury archive is particularly rich in evidence for this period, when compared with most archives. The Glastonbury archive may have suffered considerable loss: those estates for which records survive largely relate to the DB endowment of the monastery.

59) Not a survey. But how was it compiled? See Campbell, 'Christian Kings', pp. 59-61; W.Davies and H.Vierck, 'The Context of the Tribal Hidage: Social Aggregates and Settlement Patterns', *Frühmittealterliche Studien* 8 (1974), 223-93; and C.Hart, 'The Tribal Hidage', *TRHS* 21 (1971), 133-57; and 'The Kingdom of Mercia' in *Mercian Studies*, ed. Dornier, pp. 43-61; N.P.Brooks, 'The Formation of the Mercian Kingdom', in *The Origins*, ed. Bassett, pp. 159-70.

60) On this see Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas*', p. 114.

61) For contact between Offa and the Carolingians see Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 111 ff. Further contacts are apparent in coinage and in ritual practice.

62) See letter of Alcuin to Ealdorman Osbert, *EHD*, pp. 854-56; quoted by William GR I,(§94); and discussions by P.Wormald, 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin', in *Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Campbell, pp. 101-131 at 115-16; Dumville, 'Ætheling', p. 19 ff. On Ecgfrith's 'anointing' see J.L.Nelson,

'Inauguration Rituals', in *Medieval Kingship*, ed. Sawyer and Wood, pp. 50-71 at 52.

63) The length of Ecgfrith's reign is recorded in London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B v, 22r: cf. Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', p. 36.

64) Record has survived for 4 of his grants; a number not reached by Offa's extant charters for any single year. SS.148, 149, 150 and 151 (these last two are dubious). See also BCS 291, council of Clovesho where he is said to have given the monastery at *Pectanege* to Archbishop Æthelheard. Note William's comment that Ecgfrith restored the privileges of all the churches which Offa had taken, GR I, 93.

65) DA, §51, p. 110, lines 13-16.

66) 'Saxon Abbots', p. 38 n. 3.

67) See Dumville, 'Anglian Collection'.

68) *The Historia Brittonum, 3 The 'Vatican' Recension*, ed. D.Dumville (Woodbridge, 1985), p. 45. The claim to descent from Pybba may be akin to that of the West-Saxon kings' descent from Cerdic: that is a claim for legitimacy. See Dumville, 'The Ætheling'. Note also the similarity of the names in the pedigree of Cenwulf and those of West Saxon kings.

69) Cf. Alcuin as above n. 62.

70) ASE AE 798.

71) Note Cenwulf's claim in the Glastonbury confirmation, *electus sum in regem per Deum omnipotentem.*

72) See S.153 and his role in the council of that year, BCS 291; on which see Brooks, *Early History*, p. 129 ff. He also wrote to Leo III and received a reply in that year; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III 521-25; EHD, pp. 858-862.

73) This rests on a date from the Winchcombe annals. Cenwulf's charter of confirmation (S.167) cannot be used as evidence for the date as it is a later compilation of (possibly genuine) material. Pope Leo's confirmation has been dated to 811, presumably on the evidence of S.167. Its dating clause has been lost. Cf. Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 253-55.

74) Cf. Levison, *ib.*, p. 32

75) *ib.*, p. 22 ff.

76) See P. Partner, *The Lands of St Peter* (London, 1972), p. 37 ff.

77) The letter is printed by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III 440-41, dated 784x91.

78) Presumably at Offa's request.

79) On Leo see P. LLewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London, 1970), p. 247 ff. The attack on Leo was recorded in the Chronicle; ASC AE 799. Interest in Leo continued; he is mentioned *s.a.* 815 and 816 in AE and in 798 in F - considerably more than any other Pope before the eleventh century except Gregory I.

80) Cenwulf did, however, appeal to the Pope to relocate the southern metropolitan which the Pope refused; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III 521-25 and EHD, pp. 858-62.

81) For instances of the use of the formula, which all post-date Offa's privilege, see Santifaller, 'Die Verwendung des Liber Diurnus in den Privilegen der Päpste von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 11 Jahrhunderts', *MIÖG* 49 (1935), 225-336 at 264, 268-9 and 301. Hence Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 32. But since the privilege is so unlike those that preceeded it, where did the inspiration come from? Was it Offa himself? For earlier privileges see Levison, *ib.*, pp. 22-33; and cf. comments of Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict', pp. 146-49.

82) Cf. the gift by Bishop Hathored of Bath to Offa (S.1257) *ad habendam...ad tribuendam semperque perfruendum iustis eius heredibus..*

83) As Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 180-186 at 180 and 184.

84) The differences go beyond those which might be expected in a re-translated document.

85) Cf. the use of *defendere*, as opposed to *habere*, in Charlemagne's charters: *Diplomatum Karolinorum I*, ed. A.Dopsch *et al.*, MGH (Hannover, 1906), pp. 129, 153, 165 and 232.

86) DA, §50, p. 108, line 29.

87) A lay-abbot may then have appointed someone in orders to take charge of the spiritual needs of the community. It has been argued that on the continent lay abbots are apparent from this period; F.Felten, *Äbte und Laienäbte im Frankreich: Studie zum Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche im früheren Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1980). But see J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, 'Review (Felten, *Äbte*), *JEH* 33 (1982), 114-15; and the English evidence discussed by Wormald, 'The Conversion'.

88) Cf. Maitland, *Domesday Book*, p. 43 and cf. p. 260.

89) See H.E.J.Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 8-15.

90) Cf. H.Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944).

91) For the interference of bishops see, for example the provisions of the council of Hertford, HE IV, 5; against laymen: the council of Clovesho, BCS 174 and 290.

92) BCS 337, from Winchcombe; on which see Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 249-59.

93) Cf. Glanfeuil see J.L.Nelson, 'Commentary', in *Frauen im Spätantike und Frühmittelalter*, ed. W.Affeldt (Sigmaringen, 1990), pp. 325-32 at 330; the charter is in *Receuil des Actes de Charles le Chauve*, ed. G.Tessier, 3 vols (Paris, 1943-55) I, no. 97.

94) Cf. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, p. 309 n. 24, who note that the restrictions on the right to alienate land appear in Offa's charter S.114 and in Burgred's S.214, the latter restricting the heir to males of the paternal line - suggesting that this was a ninth-century Mercian development.

95) Clovesho 825, BCS 384; Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 136, 180-82.

96) E.g. SS.241, 265, 289.

97) Clovesho 803, BCS 309, 310; Brooks, *ib.*, pp. 119, 126, 179.

98) William presumably could identify Beadwulf from Offa's grant to the abbot; DA, §48, pp. 106-07.

99) See S.1442 (MS *s.xi*) where Cwenthryth is given as Cynethryth. Cf. Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 251. He considered *Kinedrith* to be Offa's wife.

100) BCS 291; EHD pp. 508-10; Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 103-4.

101) See Levison, *England and the Contintent*, p. 251.

102) The first charter is S.59 (770) the last is S.129 (788) or possibly S.133 (790), but this last is a forgery based on a genuine charter.

103) SS.150 and 151.

104) It is possible, however, that Cynethryth could be a relative of Cenwulf, given the alliteration of the names; see below n. 114.

105) Scharer concluded that S.127 was a forgery and that the diplomatic belonged to c.780: Scharer, *Königsurkunde*, pp. 270-71 at 271. Æthelswith and Æthelburh are not elsewhere attested as daughters of Offa. For Eadburh

see *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 12-14; and S.270a, her gift to Eadgils. For Ælflaed see S.59.

106) That is Æthelburh and Ælflaed

107) As assumed by Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 251 n. 1.

108) See Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 129.

109) S.1442; cf. Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 257.

110) See Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 35.

111) DA, §52, pp. 110-111.

112) BCS 312 and S.270a.

113) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 39.

114) See Searle, *Onomasticon*, p.146; it could presumably be a hypocoristic form of *Cumma* or *Cuman*. *Cuma* was also a place-name in Somerset; S.1042 (1065).

115) *Liber Vitae*, ed. Sweet, *s.v.* Muca; ASC AE 824

116) Variously *Mucoel* or *Mucael*. See Searle, *Onomasticon*, pp. 354-55; and that Muca might be a hypocoristic form of Mucel is suggested by Lapidge, 'St Indract', p. 181.

117) Cf. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, p. 240 n. 57.

118) LT 87, 93; DA, §53, pp. 112-23, but William makes no mention of Burgred.

119) Clutton, LT 40; for Chewton, see King Alfred's will, S.1507. Note that the West Saxons did acquire land in Berkshire.

120) For the identification see ECWM, no. 72.

121) It was claimed by Pershore in *s.x*; S.786.

CHAPTER SIX

Ninth-Century Problems

The evidence for the ninth-century poses a number of problems: the most formidable being how to explain its paucity. There is little evidence which reveals much directly about Glastonbury in this period and it is perhaps this which has led historians to believe that Glastonbury, at some point, was destroyed by the Viking invasions. For this reason also Glastonbury is rarely mentioned in discussions of the ninth century. There are no collections of charters remotely comparable to those which have illuminated the history of Canterbury in this period. In fact, the Chronicler Æthelweard provides the only independent evidence (and that not contemporary) that the monastery at Glastonbury existed in the ninth century. For the eighth century, nine charters survive in the Glastonbury archive, and all of these (though of differing historical value) were records of grants made to the abbot or the community at Glastonbury. By contrast, of the six charters which are extant and purport to date from the ninth century, only one is a grant to Glastonbury and that, one of the most controversial of the Glastonbury charters: Æthelwulf's so-called decimation charter. This apart, the remaining five charters relate to estates owned by the abbey in 1066, but which came into Glastonbury hands for a variety of reasons, not all of which help in understanding the history of the ninth century. The evidence of William thus assumes an important and to some extent unexplored role, as a source for this period. He records a number of transactions involving the monastery which have not survived, but perhaps more important than this are the obit lists he records, which suggest both

the continued importance of the monastery at Glastonbury in the ninth century and the possibility of continuity in the community throughout the period of struggle with the Vikings. I shall argue first, that there is more evidence which relates to the ninth century than has hitherto been thought and second, that the silence of the sources is explicable and does not bespeak destruction.

6.1 The Glastonbury Scriptorium in the Ninth Century

A grant which purports to have been made by King Ine to Berwald (abbot of Glastonbury) and dated 705 (r. 706) survives as a single-sheet charter in a hand of the sixteenth/seventeenth century[1]. The charter appears to be a facsimile of an early minuscule hand and it has been suggested that the exemplar used by the later copyist was an original charter of Ine's reign[2]. If this were correct then the charter would be an important witness to the survival of an original charter of Ine. But the argument for the date of the hand being copied, is far from conclusive.

The only detailed account of the charter is that by Edwards[3]. She notes that a number of the letter forms are characteristic of early insular writing. In particular she notes the long L with small following letter; the exaggerated cross-bar of T; and the long G. For comparison she cites the glosses attributed to Boniface[4]; the eighth-century fragment of Servius[5]; the Junilius fragment[6]; and the ninth-century hand of MS 3 of the record of the council of Kingston in 838 (S.1438) which appears again in Æthelwulf's grant to himself in 847 (S.298). From this Edwards concludes that the person who wrote the survivng copy of the charter 'used an early exemplar, probably dating from the eighth century, and perhaps the orginal'[7]. As such it would be the earliest known Anglo-Saxon charter to

have been written in insular minuscule[8]. But it is this balance of probability which needs further consideration.

Of the letter forms noted, all have parallels in MSS of both the eighth and ninth century but collectively they are to be found only in the charters from the ninth century, which have the unmistakeable long L which curves markedly below the line to the right under the following letter; the G whose top-stroke extends to the left over the preceding one to three letters; and again the T whose top-stoke extends to the right, curving up at the end over one to three letters[9]; P is invariably left open[10]. None of the eighth-century MSS cited displays all of these highly distinctive characteristics, whereas the charters of the ninth century do so[11]. Of course with so little material with which to compare the charter, especially without any early eighth-century West Saxon charters for comparison, it might be unwise to conclude that these features occurred together only in the ninth century. But Davidson thought the hand to date from c.800, 'but is probably much later'[12] and in the opinion of Michelle Brown the hand being imitated is most akin to those of the ninth-century charters: S.298 and MS 3 of S.1438. MSS of both these charters appear to be the work of West Saxon scribes. They have been compared with a further MS of Philippus; the script of which may have been the work of the Sherborne scriptorium[14]. It may be that the hand copied in S.248 should be viewed in this context.

If the script being imitated is that of the ninth century then the charter would represent important evidence for the activity of the scriptorium at Glastonbury: evidence in a period when it is difficult to localise both scripts and manuscripts[15]. It might also suggest some relationship between the scriptorium at Glastonbury and that at Sherborne

or Winchester: in this context it is important to note that one of the Glastonbury obit-lists preserved by William records that two bishops of Sherborne and two bishops of Winchester, from the ninth century, were monks of Glastonbury[16]. If the script is dated to the ninth century, why was the charter written then? Was it simply a copy of a genuine eighth-century charter or a forgery of the same? In whichever case, it would suggest an interest in (re-)establishing a claim to extensive estates granted by Ine which in turn might presuppose a dispute of some sort or at least difficulty in retaining the land.

The charter, if forged, was a very good attempt. Edwards in her discussion of the diplomatic concluded that the text shows every sign of authenticity. The Invocation, Proem, Superscription, Sanction and Blessing all bear comparison with other charters of the early eighth century[17]. Further, unlike the later cartulary version, the charter does not mention Glastonbury only the abbot Berwald.

The witness list provides evidence that this at least was taken from a charter of the early eighth century; the unusual subscription of Daniel *plebi Dei ministrans subscripsi*, is not unlike those he used elsewhere[21]. Where the witnesses can be identified they are consistent with the date recorded in the charter[22].

There are, however, a number of peculiarities which need to be considered. First, the king's name does not appear in the list of witnesses, nor do the names of any laymen. This could be accounted for if the list records those present at an ecclesiastical council; an argument supported by the fact that the bishops appear to have come from Wessex, Kent and Mercia. But if this is so it does not readily explain why such a charter as this - a gift by the king to a monastery - should have been

witnessed by bishops alone. That this was seen as a discrepancy later on is suggested by the fact that the cartulary copy of this charter has the name of the king first in the list, with the anachronistic subscription, *signaui salutifero signo.* Several possibilities might explain the list; the charter could have been originally given by Ine and at a subsequent date confirmed at a church council, although unless the land concerned the church particularly - that is unless one or other see had an interest in it - it is difficult to understand why this should have been so confirmed; alternatively the later sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copyist simply omitted the names of others present, but this is unsatisfactory, especially given the care with which the charter was copied; finally, if the charter was copied in the ninth century then perhaps other witnesses were omitted, or the whole list was added to the charter.

Secondly, the date of the charter is inconsistent. The incarnation date is 705 whereas the indiction is the 4th, suggesting 706 (as the only cycle which would be consistent with all of the witnesses). Such an error could have occurred when the charter was originally composed, but more likely the error arose at a stage when the charter was copied. But, again, given the care of the copyist of the extant MS I think the error might best be seen as having occurred in an intermediary stage between that of the original production and that of the sixteenth- or seventeenth-century copy.

The charter would thus appear to be a ninth-century copy of an eighth-century original, with the proviso that the witness list may have been added at a later date. The simplicity of the boundary clause would support such an early date, where more detail might have been expected in the ninth century. Had the charter been a forgery this would have been an obvious element upon which to elaborate.

Some further support for the view that this charter may have been copied in the ninth century comes from a study of the estates being granted. These present a problem since the charter mentions them only in vague terms and it is not always apparent what the relationship is between these and later estates. The charter, whatever its date, is remarkable for granting several different estates[23] covering large areas of land that may have formed a substantial part of the monastery's endowment thenceforth. The land granted comprised:

lxv casatos ...iuxta flumen quod appellatur Tan xx casatos et alibi in loco qui dicitur Pouelt xx manentes necnon ex utroque margine fluminis cuius uocabulum est Duluting xx casatos pertingentes usque ad conuallem qui dicitur Correges cumb ex occidentali uero plaga eiusdem uallis quinque casatos.

'65 *casati*: next to the river called Tan 20 *casati*; and also in the place called *Pouelt* 20 manentes; also in both directions from the banks of the river called *Duluting*, 20 *casati*, extending (up) to the valley (surrounded by hills) called *Correges comb*; from the western side of the same valley, 5 *casati*'.

The 20 *casati* next to the river Tan (Tone) may well be the same area granted in a charter of Centwine of 682 (S.237)[24]. That king granted 23 *mansiones* in the place called *Cantucuudu* 'having to the south the river Tone'. Following the bounds the charter adds 'and three hides to the south of the Tone..' The whole comprises the modern parish of West Monkton and the western part (including the village) of the parish of Creech St Michael. Finberg suggested that the grant was of 23 + 3 hides and Morland that it was of of 20 + 3 hides[25]. The charter itself quite clearly distinguishes the number of hides both north (23) and south (3) of the

Tone. However, the full number of hides to be granted might be expected to have been stated at the beginning of the disposition, in which case the 3 hides might seem like an after-thought to elaborate one part of the original 23 hides: that lying to the south of the river. William apparently saw this charter and refers to 23 hides at *Cantucdun*: 20 in *Caric* and 3 in *Crucan*. These last 3 hides are clearly the same as those noted at the end of the charter since both refer to *Crucan/Cructan*, now Creech barrow[26]. Thus it is evident that William thought that the part north of the Tone did comprise 20 and not 23 hides.

One problem remains with William's record: it is not clear where his *Caric* lay, for the name is not to be found in the bounds of the charter. Finberg followed by Scott read this as Cary (DB Cari), a place name related to the river-name Cary[27]. Ekwall in his discussion of the name considered that Caric could have been the original form of Cary; there are analogies for the loss of the final -c. But he admitted that 'we might expect to find more traces of the final -c if it was in the original form'[28]. Given this and the fact the Cary was some distance from Cantucdun and has no relation to this grant, I think it more likely that *Caric* is a corruption of *Cryc* - which appears in *Crycbeorh* (Creech barrow) in the charter (as the separate 3 hides)- and which might have been the original name for Creech St Michael (DB *Crice*)[29]. William's *caric* might then relate to part of the land given by Centwine north of the Tone.

In the present ninth-century context the diplomatic of the Monkton charter (S.237) is important. The charter survives only in a fifteenth-century Register, but the formulae betray signs of a date of composition later than that to which the charter purports to belong. Grundy suggested that the bounds could not be later than the ninth century but equally they

are unlikely to be of the seventh century[32] (although Edwards has attempted to reconstruct which elements of the bounds may have been in the original grant[33]). If she is right, at some time in the later eighth or ninth century the boundary clause was thus rewritten, and it would be simplest to suppose that the whole charter was rewritten in this period.

The phrase which states that the charter *quamdiu christianitas uigeat in seruicio Glaestingensis aecclesie permaneat* is worth comment. This would appear to be a theme commonly used in charters of the ninth century, which has been adapted to refer specifically to Glastonbury[34]. Other elements which suggest a later date of composition include the sanction, blessing and the phrase *in saecula saeculorum*. Parallels for all of these can be found from the ninth century[35]. An exception might be the use of the verb *perstringere* which appears in a series of tenth-century charters of which a number are in the Dunstan B format and survived in the Glastonbury archive. The word was used by Aldhelm and Bede, and appears in one charter in each of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, all of which, however, were rewritten or forged[36].

Edwards has suggested that the Monkton charter was rewritten at the same time as another Glastonbury charter S.236 (dateable to the first third of the tenth century)[37]. But the similarities between these charters are not great. If the charter was copied and reworked to some extent in the tenth century then it is likely that material from the ninth century was used, including the reworked bounds. It is thus significant that a charter which may have been used as the main title-deed for the Monkton estate was copied or (re)written in the ninth century when Ine's grant, referring to the same estate may also have been copied. If there was some need to rewrite the boundary clause it might suggest that the abbey had some

difficulty in retaining the estate. Certainly, by Domesday Glastonbury had lost Creech St Michael which was then owned by the king. It is worth noting that Alfred granted land at *Cryces tun* (which may be Creech St Michael) to his *minister* in 882 (S.345)[38]. At any rate, as Davidson pointed out, the assessment had been reduced by Domesday, which would suggest that some land had been lost[39].

The second part of Ine's charter refers to 20 *manentes* at *Pouelt*. Again, since no details of the estate are given it may be that the estate had already been granted and that the bounds were well-known. The *Pouelt* of this charter may refer to the area, or part of the area, known today as the Polden hills. But it is uncertain exactly where *Pouelt* was[40]. The forged privilege of Ine, composed by William, refers to provision made for the visit of the bishop of Wells, where two manors were set aside for his use, one at Pilton and the other at *Poelt*. This is glossed in a thirteenth-century hand in the survivng MS *id est Greinton*[41]. It may be that Greinton was also being referred to in the bounds of Ine's charter of Sowy (S.251) where the vague reference in the bounds *on Poholt* corresponds to the Greinton area[42]. It may have been part of, or separate from, the later grant by Æthelheard in 729 of 60 hides at *Poeld*[43] (S.253) and the 22+6 hides sold to Abbot Tyccea in 754x6 at *Poholt*[44]. Morland has argued that the 729 grant, whose boundary clause survives in a cartulary text, covered the later manors of Shapwick and Walton together with those settlements dependent on them, and that the 754x6 grant included the estates of Woolavington, Cossington and possibly Puriton[45]. If so then these two charters would account for all of the Polden settlements, in which case the grant or confirmation of Ine may have been superseded. But it does raise

the questions of why, if Æthelheard's grant (S.253) overlapped in extent with Ine's grant, it was necessary to give another charter soon after in 729, and whether Glastonbury was trying to buy back land in 754x6. Unfortunately there is no further record until DB when all of these estates were recorded as possessions of the abbey. A possible explanation might be that the land was lost through a precarial grant made by Ine and quickly recovered for the abbey by Æthelheard.

The third part of Ine's grant concerned 20 hides on either side of the river *Duluting*. The vague details here also mean that certain identification is impossible. The name *Duluting* survives only in the place-name Doulting (c.10 miles NE of Glastonbury.) The river in question is almost certainly the river Sheppy which flows from its source at Doulting, through Shepton Mallet, Croscombe, Dinder and Dulcote, thence flowing south of Wells and out onto the levels. *Correges comb* may well be Croscombe which lies in the Sheppy valley 4 miles west of Doulting. It has been suggested that the *Correges comb* valley should be looked for elsewhere than in the Sheppy valley since the charter implies a distinction[46]. But the clause might equally imply that the grant extended as far as that part of the valley which was known as *Correges comb*. It should also be noted that the river valley turns sharply to the north for 300 yards about ½ a mile east of Croscombe and it was possibly this feature which led to a distinction between the parts of the valley. How far the land extended around the river is a moot point however.

There are two cartulary versions of the charter preserved under different headings of Pilton and Doulting. The charters have an almost identical boundary clause which has been identified as including the

parishes of Pilton, Shepton Mallet, and Croscombe but not that of Doulting[47]. By 1066, however, the abbey owned 20 hides at Pilton (which included Shepton and Croscombe) and 20 hides at Doulting. Morland has suggested that originally the area granted by Ine around the river Doulting comprised the estates later subject to Pilton[48]. Later, in 851, according to William of Malmesbury, Doulting was 'transferred to the jurisdiction of the monastery' by Æthelwulf, who at the same time added 20 (or 25) hides - possibly the 20 hides of Doulting recorded in DB[49]. Finally, Eadred was said to have restored Doulting and the nearby estate of Nunney[50]. However, Morland's argument is somewhat perverse in insisting that for Doulting we should read Pilton. There is not only confusion today, William may equally have been uncertain. He apparently intended the modern parish of Doulting when he referred to *Doulting*, since he made the distinction earlier when he listed the grants of Ine which included 20 hides at Pilton and 20 at Doulting. But he may have been mistaken, for Ine's grant does not mention these as two separate grants, and William may have been influenced by the fact that the abbey later owned and claimed these two estates. It is even possible that Glastonbury had had two charters drawn up to refer to both estates by the time William came to look at the archive and hence long before they were copied into the cartulary. LT 9 records a grant of Pilton by Ine but in the 1247 inventory of single-sheet charters it is referred to as Dulting. It may be that there was some confusion over the nature of Ine's original grant and even William was confused.

To return to the wording of the charter, it implies that the 20 hides included land up to, but separate from, Croscombe. Furthermore the charter clearly locates the grant around the Doulting river. If Pilton was intended it is curious that this place was in no way alluded to; it lies in a small

river valley c.3 miles south of the Sheppy. Clearly the river Doulting was the major feature of the gift and gave its name to the present settlement at Doulting. It seems at least possible that the original grant comprised land at Doulting itself together with 5 hides on the western side of the Croscombe valley. Possibly it was Doulting which was transferred to the monastery in the ninth century, and Pilton which was added later. Equally it may be that Ine's charter covered an area of land that was later divided into the separate areas of Doulting and Pilton, and perhaps it is to press the evidence too far to try and identify exactly the area intended in the grant.

The evidence of William is important here. In the GP he records that originally Aldhelm had given the church at Doulting to Glastonbury, whilst retaining the usufruct for life: *quam pridem* (Doulting) *monachis dederat* (Aldhelm) *Glastoniensibus, usum fructurarium pactus*[51]. This is not repeated in the DA where it might be expected had William come across evidence of the transaction at Glastonbury. (William does record that Aldhelm wrote the 'document' recording Ine's gifts, including Doulting, to Glastonbury). Possibly William recorded an oral tradition which was designed to explain why Glastonbury came to possess the estate and church at Doulting, where Aldhelm had died and been buried. It would be important if there was a grain of truth in the story. William clearly refers to the 'usufruct' of the estate and elsewhere in the story he describes the wooden church which was later rebuilt by a monk of Glastonbury in stone. Whilst *usus fructurarius* is not a word used in Anglo-Saxon charters, the OE *bryce*, meaning 'use', was perhaps an equivalent used in wills, where the donor left land for the use of a named person or persons and for a stated period of time, before it became the possession of a particular community[52].

Usufruct was used in this way in the eighth century on the continent but there are almost no Latin Anglo-Saxon wills with which to compare the words[53]. It was also William's habit to render Latin into that of his own time, when 'usufruct' was commonly used.

Turning to the ninth century, William recorded that Abbot Ealmund, with the agreement of Æthelwulf, *Dulting in ius monasteriale transtulit, cui eciam rex prefatus Alhstano episcopo consenciente, xx hidas addidit ad supplementum uite regularis*[54]. Ealhstan, Bishop of Sherborne, may simply have been included as the Ordinary; alternatively he had an interest in the estate at Doulting - if perhaps both Sherborne and Glastonbury made some claim to the estate there. It is not clear exactly what William meant by the phrase 'transferring Doulting to the monastery'. First, it should be remembered that William is not necessarily quoting exactly from his source: *in ius monasteriale* could be William's version of what he elsewhere calls *hereditas monasterii*[55]. Second, the use of *ius* might reflect twelfth-century usage. But John has pointed out that the phrase was used in the late Roman empire and by Gregory the Great, and that it is the equivalent of *ius proprium* and *ius ecclesiasticum*[56]. It is possible then that William's source used the former of these phrases for whilst *ius monasteriale* does not appear in any of Æthelwulf's charters (or any other ninth-century charter) *ius proprium* does. In which case the phrase means monastic ownership; it would imply ownership of the estate and not simply possession of the jurisdiction . Robinson thought the clause indicated that the abbot and the community were dividing their property[57]. Previously, Abbot Guthlac in 824 had sold land and kept a proportion of the profits for himself whilst giving the remainder to the community[58]. If the transaction were between abbot and convent it would hardly explain why the agreement of

the king should have been needed[59]. It is surely more likely that Abbot Ealmund sought the aid of the king to help him restore the ownership of the estate to the monastery; possibly 'moving' it perhaps from his own or the bishop of Sherborne's possession. If Aldhelm had given the estate to Glastonbury (or even if Ine had given it), but retained the usufruct, then perhaps Glastonbury sought its return from Sherborne. That Doulting remained difficult to keep, is apparent from the restitution of the estate by Eadred in the tenth century.

It has proved necessary to examine this charter in some detail, partly because of the nature of the charter itself, which is not altogether clear, and partly because so little is known of Glastonbury in the ninth century, that any potential evidence is significant.

I have argued that it is possible to suggest a context for the writing of Ine's charter in the ninth century. It was not simply an exercise to occupy the monks in the scriptorium[60]. If Glastonbury experienced some difficulty in retaining the land at Doulting and possibly also at Creech, then this might explain not only why the Monkton charter (or at least its bounds) was possibly re-written in this period but perhaps also why the charter of Ine was recopied. It provided evidence that Ine[61] had given extensive estates to the abbey.

The charter is also evidence of the activity of a West Saxon scriptorium. This could have been episcopal, perhaps Sherborne, but more likely S.248 was written at Glastonbury itself. The community was thus engaged in an activity which also occupied the scriptoria at both Worcester and Canterbury in this period[62].

6.2 Æthelwulf's Decimation Charters

The charters purporting to relate the decimation of Æthelwulf have occasioned considerable comment and widely differing views. Following Stevenson's rejection of the charters as spurious, Finberg attempted to argue that they were in fact genuine[63]. Finberg's arguments were not thought convincing in reviews by Whitelock and Brooks, and more recently Keynes and Lapidge have once again rejected all of the decimation charters but one, as forgeries of the eleventh century and later. Wormald, however, has recently remarked that whilst all of the extant texts have been tampered with 'it is inconceivable that a number of different churches could have forged the same sort of text in the same sort of words'[64]. A study of the decimation charters reveals a number of underlying assumptions made by scholars on both sides of the argument; it is these which need to be understood in order to evaluate the evidence for the decimation. In particular I shall look at the so-called second decimation charters since it is one of this type which has survived in the Glastonbury archive.

The Chronicle and Asser give differing accounts of Æthelwulf's decimation which, in turn, cannot be easily reconciled with other evidence. Asser, in his *Life of Alfred* (§11), stated in terms reminiscent of contemporary charters, that Æthelwulf 'freed a tenth part of the whole of his kingdom (*totius regni sui*) from royal service and tribute, for the redemption of his soul and those of his predecessors'. Asser, in chapter §16, added that Æthelwulf made provision that after his death, for every ten hides, a poor man was to be sustained from all his hereditary lands (*per omnem hereditariam terram suam*)[65]. The Chronicle stated that Æthelwulf

'booked a tenth part of *his land* throughout his kingdom to the praise of God and for his own salvation'[66].

These accounts apparently contradict one another and yet were written within only a few years of each other[67]. First, it is clear that in §16 Asser was talking of the yield of the land, where §11 and the Chronicle concern the land itself. Secondly, where §11 writes of ' all the lands of the kingdom, the Chronicle refers specifically to the lands of the king. It has been assumed that the Chronicle's account was to be preferred. Stevenson rejected Asser because the tithes from Æthelwulf's kingdom were not his to bestow, i.e. he could not grant a tenth of the land he did not own. Stevenson argued from contemporary charters that the donation was originally intended as a series of grants of royal estates to laymen alone but with an intended reversion to the Church, for this would explain the exemptions and the references to the expiation of sins[68]. The Church, in Stevenson's view, did not benefit directly from the decimations, but this is to assume that the charters which purport to be decimations in favour of the church are to be rejected. If they are not so rejected then perhaps Asser's words should be taken more seriously. It could be argued that Asser had something to gain - namely extensive lands - by suggesting that the whole kingdom was to be decimated, if the church was to be the beneficiary.

It might be equally possible that both accounts have elements of truth in them. While Church legislation both before and after Æthelwulf's reign make it clear that tithes were regarded as the produce of the land, land itself could be regarded as a tithe. The decrees of the councils of 786 state that 'all men should strive to give tithes from everything they possess'; which literally might suggest land[69]. It may not be wholly coincidental that Carolingian legislation on tithing received fresh impetus

in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, and in particular at the Council of Meaux-Paris (845-46)[70]. Could Asser's account simply reflect Æthelwulf's pious intention, whether effective or not? Or at least, reflect what Asser might have wished this to have been.

In practice Æthelwulf may have given a tenth of his own land to the church, as implied by the Chronicle's words that his land was booked in praise of God and for his salvation. Æthelwulf did give land to laymen, as the charter to one Dunn demonstrates[71]. In this case the land went ultimately to the church, since Dunn's bequest to the church of Rochester was added to the end of the charter[72]. But it is not immediately clear from the charter that the land was intended for the church: had this been the case then surely such a stipulation would have been stated explicitly and not implicitly. There is ambuiguity today in understanding Æthelwulf's intentions and perhaps, if such ambiguity existed then, it would have suited Æthelwulf well. He could propitiate both the church and the laity. That he should need to placate the latter may be suggested by the events of 855/6 when Æthelbald revolted against his father[73].

Of the first decimation only two charters survive, one in favour of Malmesbury and the other in favour of Sherborne[74]. Both these charters have a number of anachronistic features which make them difficult to accept as genuine. O'Donovan has argued that the Sherborne charter is a forgery based upon a forged charter of Malmesbury[75]. She notes the contact between the two houses in the time of William of Malmesbury[76].

The charters of the second decimation offer a more complicated gift: *..ego humiliter pro amore Dei perfeci ut decimam partem terrarum per regnum nostrum non solum sanctis ecclesiis dare[m] uerum eciam et ministris nostris in eisdem constitutis in perpetuam libertatem habere concessimus*

ita ut talis donacio fixa incommutabilisque permaneat ab omni regali seruicio et omnium secularium absoluta seruitute[77].

'I humbly, for the love of God, caused not only that I should give a tenth part of the land throughout our kingdom to the holy churches, but we have conceded it also to our thegns established on the same [lands] to hold in perpetual liberty, that this grant remain fixed and unchanging free from all royal service and all secular servitude'.

Finberg took this to mean that the king intended to give a tenth of his own lands to the church and where king's thegns held precariously, these same thegns 'should enjoy a fixed heritable tenure, not 'loan-land' any longer, but bookland under ecclesiastical overlordship'[78]. There are a number of difficulties with this interpretation. First, the donation does not state that the land being given was necessarily from the King's own lands - although if the gift is of land and not of surplus (tithes) then it could be assumed that he was giving his own land. Secondly, it is not clear where the thegns were 'established'. The Glastonbury text has *in eisdem* which might refer to the 'lands' (*terrae*) which are to comprise the tenth part. But other charters of this decimation have variant readings: no other has *eisdem*. The Abingdon text has *in eadem*, presumably referring to the tenth part but the remaining five texts with this clause (one omits it) have *in eodem* which might then refer to the whole kingdom. In this case the phrase might mean that the king was giving a tenth part to the church and to his thegns (possibly those holding from the king or Church). Thirdly, if the purpose was to free these lands from all service and to grant them so that they might be disposed of at will, the church would gain little. If problematic judicial or fiscal rights were being granted by the king, then this would not only be unusual but the document might be expected to state

this. Mercian kings in the ninth century did grant certain immunities which were described specifically, and occasionally rights of jurisdiction, of *witeraeden*. This last is mentioned only in the first decimation charter[79]. If such was the intention of the second decimation charter it in no way makes this clear. For a general grant of jurisdictional rights there is no parallel before the eleventh century and even then they are never grants of an open-ended intention.

The disposition implies that both the church and certain laymen were to benefit; the Church was to receive land and the laymen were to receive 'perpetual liberty' or security in their tenure. An important method of placating laymen had been for kings to make precarial grants at the expense of the church - a practice common on the continent[80]. These *beneficia* or 'loan-lands' were usually for life or for three lives, but the church always faced the difficulty of recovering the land after some time. The tenant, on the other hand, faced the insecurity that he or his heirs would be dispossessed when the allotted time elapsed[81]. Thus Æthelwulf was pleasing both parties by giving land and security.

Exactly what was intended by 'perpetual liberty' is uncertain. The distinction between 'loan-land' and book-land, that is between a loan and a gift was a fine one[82]. The right to hold the land in perpetuity might give the tenant or his heirs a permanent right to live on the land, but this is not the same as owning the land outright. Indeed, the difficulty of the 'ecclesiastical overlordship' is overcome if it is assumed that where church lands were concerned, at least, the church was to all intents and purposes to remain the lord of the land and the laymen were to continue to owe service. It is difficult to see why else the church should have agreed to the provisions in the charter.

Without knowing which lands the king intended to give or whether they were held by his thegns it is impossible to gauge the benefit to the church. But if this charter was forged then the intentions of the forger are not at all clear, indeed it is difficult to see what a forger would gain from creating such a clause. Moreover, if he were a churchman it seems most unlikely that he would add the provision concerning the laity since however it is interpreted it would have encumbered the gift to the church. More important is the point that a gift to the church from which laymen benefitted would be contrary to canon law and is thus a powerful argument against later forgery[83]. It was Æthelwulf who ultimately stood to benefit from this charter, not the church.

The date of the second decimation is a problem. Asser and the Chronicle give 855 where the charters give 854[84]. Keynes and Lapidge noted it as a point against the charters that they did not have the date in the chronicle[85], but just the reverse might be argued: the fact that the charters do not use the date recorded in the Chronicle might suggest that they record a genuine donation of 854. It is difficult to appreciate the use of a forgery that might be seen as such, by a simple comparison with the date in the Chronicle. Also, it would be out of keeping for a forger so concerned to use authentic material in concocting his charter (see below), to make so simple an error. The decimation may not have taken effect immediately, as a grant of land to a number of churches, this could have taken some time. Furthermore, it is a moot point as to how far the chronicle's dates and scant descriptions of events from the period 840 (for 843?) to 858 are accurate[86]. In particular the annal for 855 shows signs of having been written at a later date and also of confusion over the dating of Æthelwulf's return from Rome[87].

All the versions of the second decimation survive in late MSS: the earliest charter is a single-sheet of the eleventh century[88]. Most importantly it is difficult to see who would gain from such a forgery[89]. The charter in question was in favour of a layman, and it concerned land that was not apparently owned by the church. It is possible, although unlikely, that the charter in favour of a layman was part of some more complex dispute where the church had to establish the initial gift to a layman before it could claim an interest. It is conceivable that a forgery could have been made by a layman claiming the estate but this would not explain how so many different ecclesiastical beneficiaries came to have copies of this type of charter.

Another charter of this series was in favour of a layman[90]. The charter and the land were owned by the Old Minster, Winchester. But again if this was a Winchester forgery the church would have apparently gained little, not only because the beneficiary was a layman but also because the charter concerned only part of a larger estate owned by the community at a later date. If the charter was an eleventh-century forgery it is difficult to reconcile the limited extent of the charter boundary with the community's later ownership[91].

The second decimation charter also survives in cartulary copies at Winchester, Abingdon, Malmesbury and Glastonbury[92]. An important question to ask is whether survival in different archives precludes the possibilty of their having been forged as a group or one from another. It is a strong argument in their favour. But the textual difficulties presented by the charters are great. Individual variations could be accounted for by the separate development of the texts, through scribal errors, omissions and additions. But where it can be shown that the charters fall into groups of

more than one, then this would suggest that the charters in each group were in some way interdependent, that is, preserving elements exclusive to that group, which cannot easily be explained by the theory that all the charters derive from a common lost original. The charters can in fact be so divided: the Glastonbury (MS H) and two of the Malmesbury texts (MSS G,F) read against the other texts which seem to constitute a distinct group aligned to the eleventh century single-sheet charters. GFH have a number of significant common additions, for example, *ego humiliter pro amore Dei perfeci* and *et hoc testimonio fratrum (satrapum* FG) *nostrorum plurimorum (populorum* F) *ad confirmationem, quorum nomina subter (subtus* H) *annexa notantur*; and errors, such as the the first indiction where the second is correct for 854, and *dare* for *darem* in the disposition. This could be explained if one group of texts was fabricated using the other, and since the GFH texts have a number of phrases not in AD and come from later archives than do AD, then possibly the GFH group was based on the other one. But the fact remains that Æthelwulf did order a decimation which, if any attempt was made to carry it out, must have taken considerable time and effort. It would have involved the issue not necessarily of one charter but rather of a number of charters which may have taken a period of time to draw up. Furthermore the two groups into which the charters fall are also those of the two West Saxon dioceses and it may be that the Bishops of Sherborne and Winchester had some role in drawing up these charters for those houses or beneficiaries in their diocese[93].

The diplomatic of the charters presents a number of difficulties for which they have been branded as forgeries and which Finberg did little to elucidate[94]. It is thus important to consider in some detail this aspect of the second decimation charters. The first considerable difficulty is that

there are few of Æthelwulf's charters with which to make comparison. Moreover, the decimation was by definition an unusual gift and might be expected to differ in some respects from the form of his other charters. There is an additional problem: some diplomatic formulations in the decimation charters appear again only at a later date. Finberg attempted to explain this by citing Stenton's opinion that phrases might be preserved in the king's writing office for years without being used, though Whitelock was rightly sceptical of this, questioning how many phrases would survive or disappear over long periods of time[95]. But the problematic chancery need not be cited as the mechanism in the transmission of formulae. Early charters in the ecclesiastical archives would themselves have provided inspiration to later scribes. Charters produced in the late Anglo-Saxon period did clearly use formulae of earlier periods. This is especially true of Cnut's charters. An important case in point for the ninth century concerns the famous charter where Æthelwulf granted land to himself (S.298). The charter is accepted as genuine yet the proem is unusual, recurring again only twice in the tenth century: no one would suggest that the earlier record was compiled from the later[96].

The Invocation can be found in SS.299, 300, 301. The Proem can be found in SS.1274, 329, 341 (a Glastonbury charter of 869) - all three, unlike the decimation proem, omit the phrase *et in hac uita degentibus cunctis certum (circulum H) proposuerat (posuerit H) atque dierum terminum consituet (constituerit H).* The complete form is found in the tenth century in S.519 and S.805 (?S.638),and since it has survived in four charters of Æthelwulf's reign (including the decimation charter with variant) and in only two other charters, one of Edmund and one of Edgar, then it seems to me more likely that the proem of the decimation charters is a genuine

diplomatic form of the reign of Æthelwulf. For the superscription S.296 offers a parallel.

The Disposition: the decimation clause itself has been discussed, although note the use of *constitutis* for those things pertinent to an estate in S.212. Other elements include a reference to the gift on Easter day (cf S.192); advice of bishops and noblemen (cf SS.289, 292, 298, 198); the gift is made in the form: *in perpetuam libertatem* (cf S.194) *habere concessimus* (cf S298, for an infinitive followed by the perfect tense: *describere iussi*); the permanence of the grant is unique among Æthelwulf's charters but has parallels in BSC 441, SS.202, 293, 300; for the exemptions cf SS.329, 340.

In return for the donation a number of prayers and masses was required. A good parallel for this can be found in a grant of privileges to Bredon by Berhtwulf (S.193) where in return the community promised to sing 100 psalms and 120 masses for the king and the Mercian people. The decimation charters are more specific requiring 50 psalms on the Sabbath, and two masses, one for the king and one for the bishops and ealdormen. Unusually the masses are specified, but a charter of Æthelred of Mercia (889-99) also gives precise details of the offices and masses to be observed and, just as in the decimation charter, both for the living and the dead[97]. The observances were to be maintained as long as the Christian faith remained *in Anglorum gente*; a phrase which appears in the ninth century charter S.1274 and in the Mercian charters, SS.193, 198, 205, 207 with the variation *in Brittania apud Anglos.*

The donation was said to have been made in honour of Our Lord, the Virgin Mary and All Saints. The phrase does not appear in any of

Æthelwulf's charters, and grants made in honour of a saint, whilst not unknown, are unusual[98].

The Malmesbury and Glastonbury charters follow with the clause *ad hoc sub testimonio satrapum (fratrum H) nostrorum plurimorum ad confirmationem quorum nomina subtus annexa notantur.* This appears to be misplaced since the clause is clearly intended to introduce the witnesses and yet the date, bounds and sanction follow and only then are the witnesses described. The words from *et hoc* to *confirmationem* have no parallel in Æthelwulf's charters but those words immediately following do[99]. Other MSS of the decimation - A and D - have, rather, the date, and only after the sanction is there a phrase to introduce the witnesses; although this is in a different form from that in the FGH texts, it is also to be found in the charters of Æthelwulf.

The date has the first indiction in FGH, where the second is correct. The clause also refers to the place *in palatio (nostro) Wilton*, which is unlike the usual *in uilla regali.* Whitelock, however, noted that 'flamboyant diction may have been used on a great occasion and we know there was Frankish influence at Æthelwulf's court': Æthelwulf had a Frankish 'secretary', Felix; and *palatium* was used in continental charters. Whitelock went on to cite examples of its use in the reigns of Offa and Eadwig[100].

Both the Glastonbury and Malmesbury charters follow the date with a list of estates (see below) where MSS AD have the bounds of the single estates being granted. The sanction can be found in SS.300, 1274, 326, 329 and the blessing in SS.1274, 326, 329.

The witness-list is incomplete in the Glastonbury text but a full list can be reconstructed from the other charters. None of the names is

anachronistic. Indeed the list is one of the fullest for the reign of Æthelwulf - as would be expected on such an occasion[101]. A peculiarity is the omission of the archbishop of Canterbury, the only two bishops being of Winchester and Sherborne. The fact that no Kentish house appears to have possessed a copy of the decimation charter might reinforce the impression that the decimation was intended only for the West Saxon houses and hence the archbishop did not attend. His name is also absent from others of Æthelwulf's charters[102], perhaps reflecting a policy of divide and rule between Wessex and Kent. The witness list at least suggests that if the charters were forged they used some genuine elements from the charters of Æthelwulf and especially from a genuine charter of 854[103].

Unlike the first decimation charter those of the second decimation demonstrate a number of characteristics in keeping with the diplomatic of Æthelwulf's reign. Those features which are unusual might be accounted for by the nature of the grant. Yet as I argued above, the texts show indications of having been adapted. The misplaced clause introducing the witnesses is an obvious example. The fact that it occurs in the Glastonbury and Malmesbury charters and not in the other texts might suggest that these two charters were developed either from the same exemplar which preserved the error - in which case it was not an original - or the charters were fabricated at the same time when this, and the several additions these texts have in common, were made.

One important element the Malmesbury and Glastonbury charters have in common is a list of estates, placed after the dating clause but before the sanction. The two charters to laymen have only one estate named, followed by a boundary clause, placed after the sanction and before the witness-lists. The charter for Abingdon is abridged and mentions no lands at all.

The Winchester charter describes only one estate of 30 *cassati* with no boundary clause. The difference between the charters might be taken as presumptive evidence that they are not entirely dependent upon each other. It would also suggest that the terms of the grant affected the beneficiaries differently. But it is odd that the two monasteries received a number of estates whilst the community at Winchester received only one - although they claimed others in texts which are clearly seen to be later forgeries. It may also be important that the Malmesbury and Glastonbury charters have a number of features in common besides the lists of estates which might be accounted for through later adaptation. Finberg, however, compared the lists of estates in the charters of the first and second decimations for Malmesbury and concluded that they were full of problems which 'defy solution'[104]. They had little obvious relationship with the endowment of the monastery and did not make sense as an eleventh- or twelfth-century claim to early estates. The Glastonbury list is similar. Significant elements in both lists of 854 are the generally small units of land, often of half hides, which may have been part of larger estates. This would be in keeping with a donation which was concerned with precarial tenants, holding land from the church. The difficulty in identifying estates and their relationship to the monastery might then reflect a complex tenurial history, meaningless by the eleventh century.

The Glastonbury list survives in two forms, one in the Cartulary with the only surviving copy of the charter itself and the other in the DA, where William copied only the list of estates[105]. William's description is deceptive since, having introduced the decimation, he states *quo tempore Glastonie dedit* (Æthelwulf) *Offaculum xxiiii hidas*..followed by the list of estates. But the GC version does not include *Offaculum* and it may be that

this represents a different grant of Æthelwulf's to the monastery[106]. The two lists in the GC and DA are similar but not the same.

GC: *Terra ista quam in libertatem*[107] *ponimus ad ecclesiam pertinentem, to Glastyngabury þat is þanne erest on Boclond tonn fyf hyde & be Pennard sex hyd on Cetensfeld an Hywysce and on Cerawycomb sex hyd on Sowy tyen hyde, on Piriton preo hyde & to Lodegaresbergh oþer healf Hywysc and be Colom oþer healf Hywysc and be Ocmund & be del healf Hwysc and þoder del be Branot hyalf hywisc and al þat oder del.*

' ....to Glastonbury that is then first in Boclond tonn 5 hides and along side Pennard 6 hides, in Cetenesfeld one hide and in Cerawycomb 6 hides, in Sowy 10 hides, in Piriton 3 hides and (up) to Lodegaresbergh 1½ hides and by Colom 1½ hides and by Ocmund and a portion of 1½ hides and the other portion by Branot ½ hide and all that other portion'[108].

DA: *Bocland v hidas, Pennard ix hidas, Occenefeld, Scearamton vi hidas, Sowy x hidas, Pirinton, Logderesbeorgu, Occemund et Bedul, Branuc, Duneafd.*

The GC list has been couched in the form of an OE boundary clause, notably with the use of the phrase *þanne erest on.. to.. be..* linking the estates as features of a boundary. It is possible that William's exemplar was also in this form. He gives the name *Bedul*, following *Occemund*, which might be a corruption of the OE *be del* recorded in the GC in the same place[109]. The Malmesbury charters of both decimations are similarly in this form, but William's editions are again abbreviated to a simple list of the estates. It cannot be certain whether this represents a genuine ninth-century form, but it is a curious way to identify the estates at any date[110].

The two Glastonbury lists whilst not contemporary may well have been based upon the same now lost exemplar. - possibly that noted in the LT (136) and copied in the eleventh century. This is demonstrated by the order

in which the estates are recorded, where (assuming *Occenfeld* is the same as *Cetenesfeld*) the first three entries are in the same order: Buckland Town, Pennard, and *Occenefeld/Cetenesfeld*. The fourth entries differ in that GC has *Cerawycombe* and DA has *Scearamton*: the discrepancy is difficult to account for. They have been taken to represent the modern place-names of Crowcombe (So) and Scirehampton (Glo)[111]. There is no further record that either possession was part of the abbey's endowment. In 904 Edward gave Crowcombe to the Old Minster, Winchester which held it in DB[112]. Scirehampton is not mentioned in Domesday. It is worth noting that both places are given the same hidage and since the names before are the same in both lists it is possible that the same name was originally to be found at this point in the lists, with the assessment of 6 hides. But neither name is obviously a corruption of the other and it may be that an error was made by one or even both the copyists, perhaps trying to read a name they no longer understood, possibly substituting for it one they knew. The fifth, sixth and seventh entries are the same: *Sowy, Piri(n)ton* and *Lodegaresbergh.* The GC then records the name *Colom*, not in the DA. Both lists resume with *Occemund* and *Branok* (Okehampton and Braunton), but the DA adds *Duneafd* (Downhead) where the GC has only *and al þat oðer del.* Thus the lists are similar, but it is likely that the later GC version preserves the original format of the grant whilst the earlier DA list preserves names closer to the original. A number of the identifications are uncertain and the places do not all have an obvious relationship with the abbey.

Of the lands listed only four were held in 1066: Buckland, Pennard, Sowy and Downhead. After this date the monastery appears to have made no claim on any of the other lands listed. Records predating the decimation are recorded for Pennard, Sowy, *Lodegaresbergh* (now Montacute) and

Culmstock[113]. All of these were said to have been given to the monastery[114]. There is no further record of *Occenefeld, Cetenesfeld, Scearamton*, and Crowcombe[115] in Glastonbury sources. Okehampton is recorded only in the LT which refers to a (lost) OE charter[116]. The lists are, therefore, enigmatic for it is not clear what was being granted. If the monastery already owned Pennard and Sowy, was the decimation gift by way of confirmation or restoration? The case of Montacute might be explained by the argument that the gift of 1½ hides was different from that already held by the monastery. But this is an important feature of the lists: that 5 of the estates have only one, one and half, or half a hide (see above)[117]. Of these, three show considerable variation from other records that purport to be from the Anglo-Saxon period. Montacute has 1½ hides but in the seventh century Baldred was said to have given 16 hides; Culmstock has 1½ hides but a gift made in the eighth century recorded 11 hides; and Braunton has half a hide but a gift made in 867 records 10 hides[118]. These might be explained by the phrases in GC describing the estates if they are taken to mean 'another half hide' and for Braunton 'and the other part of Branok, half a hide', that is a further part was added to existing estate. But in the case of Braunton there is no record that Glastonbury owned land there before 854; only by 867 did they hold the 10 hides there[119]. Thus either Æthelbald enlarged the abbey's estate at Braunton or his grant was by way of restitution.

There is a further point to make about the forms of the names themselves. A number of the names are early forms of those used later; they differ from those in DB and those which would be used and be recognisable in the eleventh century and after. It is difficult to see why a forger would compose a document thus. The name *Lodegaresbergh* had become

Bishopston by 1066 and later Montacute[120]. In particular a number of the names do not have the settlement element which the name acquired later. *Branuc* became *Braunucminster* and then Braunton, with elements *-mynster* and *-tun*[121]; *Culum*, later became Culmstock with the added *-stoc(c)* [123]; *Occemund* may have been *Ocmund tune* before becoming Monk Okehampton[124]; the older DA list gives *Bocland* possibly predating the time when *-tun* was added. *Occenefeld/ Cetenesfeld* has no habitation element.

The decimation charters present a number of problems that may well remain unsolved, particularly those concerning the relationship between the texts. The very fact that this relationship is so complicated might argue against forgery. But this is not enough; the Malmesbury and Glastonbury texts of the 854 decimation show some interdependence which might reflect later rewriting or forgery. What is most striking is the fact that the charters do not obviously suggest a benefit to the church in the eleventh or twelfth centuries. On the contrary, the disposition argues in favour of composition in the ninth century and suggests that it was the king and not the church who was to benefit the most. The very form of the grant, the obscurity of the gift and of the lands being given would suggest that in the case of the Glastonbury charter, at least, the document was obsolete when William copied it in the early twelfth century and was probably so long before. Whilst the Glastonbury charter may have suffered some alteration in the diplomatic and in the copying of the names, in essence, I think it does represent a genuine charter of Æthelwulf's to that abbey.

The decimation apart, William records that Æthelwulf made a considerable gift to Glastonbury of 24 hides at Uffculme[124]. Unfortunately

this charter does not survive, nor is it recorded in the LT, or any subsequent list. However, the estate was the subject of a dispute in the eleventh century when Glastonbury tried to recover the land having leased it out[125]. There may then have been some motivation for forging a charter with which the abbey could assert its claim to the estate. But in the two accounts of the dispute no mention is made of any charter that might be equated with that of Æthelwulf. The monastery had a charter drawn up 1046x52 affirming its ownership of the estate; and thereafter the dispute centred not on producing earlier evidence of ownership but in seeking royal patronage powerful enough to displace the tenant and his heirs.

As part of Æthelwulf's patronage of Glastonbury, the gift of Uffculme was significant. The estate granted was considerable. The later Geld Inquisition refers to the hundred of Uffculme and it may be that considerable rights accompanied ownership of the estate. At any rate, it was worth Robert of Bampton's while to defy King Stephen over the ownership.

The gift is also interesting because it concerns extensive lands in Devon and some distance from Glastonbury. This follows a wider pattern of gifts made by West Saxon kings of land in the Dumnonian peninsula, noteably by Cynewulf[126], Egbert[127] and Æthelwulf[128]; and perhaps, unlike Mercian kings who made gifts of immunities[129], the West Saxon kings had in the South-West an important source of land to grant. But this may be to simplify the situation. It cannot be assumed that because the Mercian kings predominantly granted immunities, they were running short of land. We know almost nothing of Mercian activities in this period in, for example, Essex[130]. There are few comparable archives to those of the West Saxon

monasteries. To turn this around, there may have been other reasons why West Saxon kings gave lands in the South-West.

It is interesting that of the lands given to Glastonbury in Devon and Cornwall, only two estates were retained by 1066: Uplyme certainly and Uffculme possibly[131]. If lands at some distance were so difficult to keep the question arises: why grant them? They were exchanged for closer estates, as Braunton was for Hamm (So), in Edgar's reign[132]. But the grants might suggest that Glastonbury had powerful patrons in the ninth century who could be relied upon to uphold the gifts. It was expedient for the king to give land to a great monastery: to establish it as a symbol of his power in that area and by extension, in the area of the land given[133].

Notes: Chapter Six

1) S.248; the charter is Taunton PRO DD/SAS PR 501. On the date of the facsimile, see Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 27-8.

2) Edwards *ib.*, pp. 33.

3) *ib.*, pp. 26-33.

4) See M.B.Parkes, 'The Handwriting of St Boniface: A Reassessment of the Problems', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 98,2 (1976), 161-79.

5) *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* Supp., ed. Bruckner, no.1806; of S/W origin, *s.viii.*

6) *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores I*, ed. Bruckner, no.189; southern, *s.viii.* Thomson (*William*, pp. 105-07) argues that the MS could have come from Malmesbury. The Glastonbury library list of 1247 records the only other known MS of this rare work; Williams, *Libraries*, p. 75.

7) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 33.

8) Earlier charters survive but they are in the higher grade scripts, Uncial or Half-Uncial. The first charter written in insular minuscule to have survived is S.23 (732) a kentish charter, although Wealdhere's letter, written in insular minuscule, is earlier (704); Chaplais, 'Letter of Bishop Wealdhere'. On the different uses of these scripts see M.B.Parkes, *The Scriptorium of Wearmouth-Jarrow* (Jarrow Lecture, 1982), at pp. 12-7.

9) S.1438 preserves the most exaggerated of these letter forms; S.298 the most reserved. S.248 would appear to belong between the two. Cf. J.Morrish, 'Dated and Dateable Manuscripts Copied in England during the Ninth Century: a Preliminary List', *Medieval Studies* 50 (1988), 512-38 at 522, for a discussion of some of the features of ninth-century MSS.

10) A number of abbreviations are used in the charter, but they are not at all clear.

11) In those MSS of the eighth century the G, for example, whilst sometimes shaped like a flat-topped three, does not have either the looped tail or the extended top-stroke: an exception to the looped G can be found in the glosses attributed to Boniface, Parkes, 'Handwriting', p. 165.

12) Davidson, 'Charters of King Ine', p. 10. He did not make the distinction between ninth- and sixteenth/seventeenth-century copies.

13) Pers. communication. I am very grateful to Michelle Brown for her considerable help on matters concerning the Glastonbury scriptorium.

14) The Philippus is *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* II, ed. Bruckner, no.234. See further M.Brown, 'Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale, lat. 10861 and the Scriptorium of Christ Church', *ASE* 15 (1986), 119-37 at 120 n. 5. Chaplais, 'Origin and Authenticity', p. 57, suggests Winchester but Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 324-5, prefers Sherborne. See also O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, p. 9.

15) Cf. Brown, 'Scriptorium of Christ Church', pp. 119-20.

16) DA, §67, pp. 136-39 and cf. Scott, p. 206 n.134. They are Wigbeorht, bishop of Sherborne 793x801-816x824; Wigthegn, bishop of Winchester 805x14-823; Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne 816x17/18 (or 824) - 867; Tunbeorht, bishop of Winchester 871x77-877x79. See Appendix IV.

17) See Edwards, *Charters*, p. 29.

18) For general condemnation see Stevenson ed., *Asser*, pp. 191-93. On *syngrapha* see O'Donovan, Sherborne, p. 12. Whilst the phrase *in sempiterno graphio*, might be a particular feature of Celtic charters, I do not think that the use of *chirographum* in Anglo-Saxon charters is enough to condemn

them: it is not clear that the word was being used in the same sense of 'everlasting writing' as it was in Celtic texts.

19) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 29 and pp. 107-14, for S.245.

20) Aldhelm used the word, following Coloss. 11.4; *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 62 and 483 (*Ep. ad Ehfrido*).

21) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 31 and Sims-Williams, 'St Wilfrid', p. 166, both suggest that the unusual subscription might indicate that Daniel had written the charter.

22) Edwards, *ib.*, p. 30.

23) Other eighth-century examples include SS.243, 1164, 1249: so Edwards, *ib.*, p. 29.

24) Davidson, 'West Monkton', p. 92 n.3

25) Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', p. 76.

26) DA §37, pp. 90-1 and see J.A.Robinson, 'Crucan or Cructan', *SDNQ* 17 (1921) 43-4.

27) ECW, no. 361 and Scott, p. 91.

28) E.Ekwall, *English River-Names* (Oxford, 1928), p. 71.

29) Cf. Padell, *Cornish Place-Name Elements*, pp. 73-4, who notes that *cruc-* 'is often corrupted (or changed by folk-etymology) into *car-*'.

30) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 31-2.

31) Note that William thought the grant referred to the Tamar in Devon, DA §40, pp. 92-7, which is glossed *id est linig*. There is no other record of *Linig*. Cf. Finberg, 'Expansion of Wessex', p. 100, who suggests *Linig* lay to the west of the Tamar.

32) Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, pp. 51-4 at 54; and cf. his, 'West Monkton', pp. 104-6.

33) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 15-6.

34) Cf. e.g. SS.1274, 193, 198, 205, 207.

35) But not only from the ninth century.

36) See *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 478 l.3: a letter of Aldhelm to Leuthere Bishop of Winchester. For Bede see P.F.Jones, *A Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), *s.v.* The charters are SS. 230, 110, 546, 582, 605. See Brooks, *Early History*, p. 315.

37) Edwards, *Charters*, p. 16.

38) But note there is considerable doubt as to the extent of the boundary clause attached to the charter and the place-names recorded in the text of the charter; the former suggest an area near Norton Fitzwarren, the latter refer to *Cyrces tun* and *Cyrices Wudu* (Stoce and Welletun). If the *tun* was at Creech St Michael it is important that the name Creechwood is preserved nearby; Smith, *Place-Name Elements* I, 115, argued that *cyrices tun* was Creech barrow. For the bounds see Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, pp. 142-49. Finberg, ECW no. 420, suggested that *Stoce* could be Stoke St Mary.

39) Davidson, 'West Monkton', p. 98.

40) See Davidson, 'Charters of King Ine', p. 11; Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, pp. 114-16; ECW, no. 381; Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', pp. 78-9.

41) DA, §42, pp. 98-103.

42) Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, pp. 116-18 and see Corcos, 'Early Estates on the Poldens and the Origin of Settlement at Shapwick', *SANHS* 127 (1983), 47-53.

43) So William refers to it in his charter of Ine DA, §42, pp. 98-103. Other forms include *Pothonholt* DA, §44, p. 102; *Poholt* DA, §69, p. 142; *Pouholt* S.253.

44) DA, §47, pp. 104-07.

45) Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', pp. 79-9.

46) Davidson, 'Charters of King Ine', pp. 12-3; Edwards, *Charters*, p. 32. But see Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', p. 71.

47) GC nos. 774 and 818. Grundy, *Saxon Charters*, pp. 79-85 at 80, considered the boundary clause attached to the 'Doulting' charter to date from *s.xii* and that attached to the 'Pilton' charter to be of the following century. He concluded of the earlier survey that 'it is improbable that it is a copy of any pre-existing survey, in fact it seems to record a survey made at the time to which it belongs.' Unfortunately Grundy gives no reasons for this opinion.

48) Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', pp. 77-8.

49) DA, §53, pp. 112-13.

50) DA, §57, pp. 118-19, adds that Pucklechurch was also restored; see also §69, pp. 140-45. On Pucklechurch see Abrams, '"Lucid Interval"'. LT 32 reads *Eadred de Doulting et Nunig*. The restoration may then have been recorded in the same grant as Eadred's gift of nearby Nunney.

51) GP, p. 382.

52) D.Whitelock (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. xvii, xx, xxxvi-viii, 6, 8, 18, 38, 48, and 50. For confusion of lease/use and gift see Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, pp. 2, 22 and 54. *Usus* appears in a number of tenth-century leases: SS.1315, 1321, 1323, 1325, 1355, 1375.

53) See the eighth-century will of Abbo: P.Geary, *Aristocracy in Provence*, Monographie zur Geschichte des Mittelalters 31 (Stuttgart, 1985), at e.g. pp. 70-1.

54) DA, §53, pp. 112-13.

55) DA, §47, p. 104.

56) John, *Land Tenure*, pp. 19-20

57) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 39.

58) DA, §52, pp. 110-11.

59) Cf. the gift of Archbishop Æthelheard to his community, S.1259, and of Wulfred S.1264, S.1266: none of which were witnessed by the king.

60) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 14-5.

61) See above §4, pp. 172-73.

62) P.Wormald, 'Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Settlement of Disputes*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, pp. 149-68 at 156.

63) *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W.H.Stevenson (Oxford, 1904), pp. 186-91; Finberg, *ECW*, pp. 187-213, and bibliography cited therein.

64) D.Whitelock, 'Review' (Finberg ECW), *EHR* 81 (1966), 100-03. But note D.Whitelock, 'Some Charters in the Name of King Alfred', *Saints, Scholars and Heroes*, ed. M.H.King *et al.* (Collegeville, 1979) I, 77-98 at 97-8 n.53: 'I am inclined to think a genuine charter lies behind the charters dated 854 which relate to Æthelwulf's decimations of his lands'. See also Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon Charters', pp. 230-31; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, pp. 232-4; Wormald, 'Ninth Century', p. 140. Cf. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, p. 275.

65) *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 8-9; trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, pp. 69-70.

66) ASC ADE 855-858, trans. EHD, p. 189.

67) Asser's *Life* was completed in 893, as he states in §91; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, pp. 269-70. The relevant part of the Chronicle was probably completed, or circulated, c.890; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Whitelock *et al.* (London, 1961), p. xxi f.

68) *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 186-91.

69) Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III 447-62, no.17; and cf. Wormald, 'Offa's "Law Code"'. The matter of tithes is discussed by G.Constable, *Monastic Tithes* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 30. It was not until the tenth century that laws prescribe penalties against those who did not pay tithes: II Edgar 3.1; *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. A.J.Robertson (Cambridge, 1925), p. 20-1.

70) *Die Konzilien Der Karolingischen Teilreiche 843-859*, ed. W.Hartmann, MGH Concilia III (Hannover, 1984), p. 125 (§78); see also the council of Pavia 850, *ib.*, p. 227 (§17). Cf. R.Kottje, *Studien zum Einfluß des Alten Testamentes auf Recht und Liturgie des frühen Mittelalters, 6.-8. Jahrhundert* (Bonn, 1964).

71) S.315. In the charter Æthelwulf grants 'on account of the tithing of lands (*pro decimatione agrorum*) which, by the gift of God, I have decided to do for some of my thegns'; EHD, p. 525.

72) *Charters of Rochester*, ed. A.Campbell (London, 1973), pp. xxiv, 26-7.

73) See below p. 282. The *Liber Pontificalis* has been taken to suggest that Æthelwulf was aware of the forthcoming problems and took certain precautions before leaving for Rome; *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, p. 94 n. 2; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, p. 285 nn. 27, 28.

74) SS.294, 322

75) O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, no. 5, pp. 13-18.

76) *ib.*, p. 18.

77) S.303; GC I, 143-4; no. 202.

78) ECW, p. 192. Finberg also notes the change in the verbs from singular to plural - where the latter might refer to both the king and the church.

79) ECW, pp. 188-91; and Maitland, *Domesday Book*, pp. 174-5.

80) On precarial grants see Maitland, *ib.*, pp. 301-18. S.1274 (858) records an agreement whereby Æthelbald decrees that no one is to have a benefice from lands gien to the church of Winchester. This would suggest that the practice was prevalent in the ninth century. Cf. Alfred granting to his thegn land belonging to Malmesbury, S.356.

81) On the importance of security of tenure in a different context, see J.Holt, '1086', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. Holt, pp. 41-4, at 57.

82) For the distinction see Maitland, *Domesday Book*, pp. 313-18.

83) On Æthelwulf's piety and generosity see Wormald, 'Ninth Century', p. 140.

84) Except Dunn's charter, S.315, dated 855.

85) Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, p. 233.

86) Whitelock talks of retrospective writing, EHD p. 122.

87) Sisam, 'Royal Genealogies', p. 332. All the events for the years 855-8 are placed together under the one year.

88) S.308. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, p. 233.

89) Grundy, 'The Saxon Land Charters of Wiltshire', *AJ* 26 (1919), 143-301, thought the bounds to have been Anglo-Saxon, but he gives no details.

90) S.304.

91) See S.356 and cf. the comments on SS.348 and 424 from the Wilton cart. by Whitelock, 'Some Charters', p. 83 ff.

92) SS.307, 302, 305, 303. I have followed Finberg's annotation of these MSS: A=S.308; BFG=Malmesbury MSS S.305; C=Winchester S.307; D=S.304; E=Abingdon S.302; H=Glastonbury S.303. I have used the concordance in ECW, pp. 209-12.

93) Stenton argued that Abingdon was part of the Mercian kingdom for much of the ninth century; Stenton, *Abbey of Abingdon*, pp. 23-30. But see Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', pp. 44-5, where attention is drawn to the Abingdon Chronicle's account of the patronage of Æthelred I (865-71). Note too that Stenton's evidence linking the monastery to Mercian kings relates to the early part of the ninth century. Could Æthelwulf's donation have been a gesture to a house that had once been under West Saxon influence and was situated on the northern-most border of Wessex? At any rate there is nothing out of place in a king granting his land to a beneficiary in another kingdom; cf. LT 93, Burgred of Mercia to Eanwulf (see above p. 212).

94) See reviews cited above n.64

95) ECW, p. 199.

96) The charter survives in a contemporary MS. Chaplais, 'Origin and Authenticity', p. 57, argued that the recurrence was due to the fact that the charter survived at Winchester, .

97) ECW, p. 190 (cf. O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, p. 16). Æthelred's charter is S.223. Cf. Athelstan's Law, V As 3; Attenborough, *Laws*, p. 154.

98) See O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, p. 8; SS.271, 290 and 203, although the last two are dubious.

99) SS.300, 335.

100) Whitelock, 'Review', p. 102; SS.121, 609. For Felix see EHD, pp. 878-79.

101) The list also appears in S.290, dated 840, but it has been argued that it derives from a genuine charter of 854; O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, pp. 9-10.

102) SS.1273, 296, 298. On Ceolnoth see Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 145-7.

103) Cf. S.1862 an incomplete text with only bounds and date: Easter 854. The MS is of the tenth century.

104) ECW, pp. 199-201.

105) GC I, no. 202; DA, §53, pp. 112-13.

106) That is Uffculm and not Culmstock as Scott (p. 113) translates; cf. H.P.R.Finberg, *The Early Charters of Devon and Cornwall* (Leicester, 1953), no. 11.

107) For a discussion of this term see above, pp. 206-07.

108) For the translation I am grateful to Dr Jane Roberts.

109) Dr Roberts suggested that the OE reading would then have been *be dal(um)*, where the a was read as *u*.

110) I have not found any exact parallels but cf. SS.786, 1820, 1821.

111) ECWM, p. 47. Shirehampton lies just north of the river Avon, to the west of Bristol. If this is a gift of new land to Glastonbury, it would certainly be much further north than any of Æthelwulf's other grants.

112) DB fol. 91d

113) Pennard, DA, §38, p. 90; Sowy DA, §40, p. 94; Montacute DA, §38, p. 90; Culmstock DA, §48, p. 106 and LT24, 25 ,26.

114) Although the hidage differs: Sowy 10/12; Montacute 16/1½; Culmstock 11/1½.

115) For Winchester's claim to Crowcombe see ECW, pp. 122, 128, 144, 150.

116) LT 23: *Anglice de Ocemund.*

117) The scribe used *hiwisc* where the unit was between 1½-½ hide; otherwise he used hides. (cf. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, p. 455) Cf. *hiwisc* in the Malmesbury charter. Note also that the word begins with a capital, possibly because the scribe thought the words refered to specific places.

Huish is a common place-name in Devon, Wilts. and Somerset, and Costen has suggested that the landholding denoted by the word came to form independent farmsteads in the late Anglo-Saxon period; hence its use as a place-name; Costen, 'Late Saxon Landscape', p. 43.

118) DA, §53, p. 112.

119) See further below, p. 258.

120) The estate was owned by Athelney in 1066. But the name Bishopston, would suggest that the bishop (? of Winchester) had held the estate for some time before Athelney acquired it and was perhaps the name current in the tenth century. The name used in the ninth century was evidently *Lodegaresbergh* or *Lodegaresdone*, as it appears in a (lost) document of 871x9. See Turner, 'Notes', pp. 120-21.

121) On Braunton see Turner, 'Aspects of Celtic Survival', p. 151. Finberg used the same argument of the place-name *Kelk*, later Kilkhampton, which appears in the Sherborne list as a gift of Egbert: Finberg, 'Expansion of Wessex', p. 106.

122) J.E.B.Gover, A.Mawer and F.Stenton, *The Place-Names of Devon*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1931) I, 612.

123) BCS 1245 a manumission at *Ocmund Tune* (Okehampton); the name like that of Monk Okehampton derives from the river-name *Okement*; Ekwall, *River-Names*, pp. 308-09.

124) DA, §53, pp. 112-13.

125) GC I, 126, no. 172; the dispute is discussed by Finberg, 'Uffculme', in his *Lucerna*, pp. 204-11.

126) Cf. LT nos. 24, 25, 26 and the Sherborne List; O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, pp. xxxvii-xliii.

127) Cf. LT 30, DA §52, pp. 110-11 and the Sherborne List.

128) Cf. DA, §53, pp. 112-13

129) Wormald, 'Ninth Century', p. 139, where it is suggested that land may have been running short.

130) On Essex see B.Yorke, 'The Kingdom of the East Saxons', *ASE* 14 (1985), 1-36 at 31 ff.

131) Finberg, 'Uffculme', pp. 204-8

132) S.791.

133) See above, pp. 197-99.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Late Ninth and Early Tenth Centuries

7.1 Destruction or Continuity?

The power and patronage of Glastonbury's non-royal patrons should not be underestimated. Whilst we know most about the kings, it is the influence of local lords which must to a large extent have shaped the history of the monastery; there are glimpses of this in the tenth century, in the families of Æthelstan Half-king and Ealdorman Ælfhere, or in the letter of Pope John to Ælfric, admonishing him to cease plundering the lands of his neighbour - Glastonbury. For the ninth century there is evidence which relates to Eanwulf, ealdorman of Somerset. The power of such men must have varied according to their personal power as patrons, through the ability to influence the abbot and the community, through abbatial election, exchange of lands, or physical defence of the monastery and its possessions. There is, of course, a reverse side to this patronage, seen most clearly in the 'anti-monastic' movements of the tenth century which reveal, rather than a general antipathy towards monastic reform, a favouritism where one monastery was honoured and another was plundered. It may also have been the case that where one patron favoured a particular monastery, for that very reason another did not.

Little is known of the fate of Glastonbury in the ninth century particularly in the last quarter of that century. The period is notoriously obscure for English monastic history as a whole, but one which has been seen as dominated by Viking invasion and destruction[1]. Historians,

mediaeval and modern, have suggested that Glastonbury suffered at the hands of the Vikings[2]. The question is worth reconsidering. Some recent historiography has suggested that the effect of the Viking devastation on the church, both in England and on the continent has been over-estimated[3]. The nature of our evidence for the ninth century needs to be taken fully into account: Asser and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle were, arguably, court-inspired and written in the interests of the king. And, of course, vacant monasteries were food for the royal house. If therefore, the silences in the evidence do not bespeak destruction, what may have happened to Glastonbury? The abbey had powerful patrons in the first half of the ninth century and there is certain evidence for its existence at least until 867, but there is none for the last third of the century. Alfred, with whom the sources are largely concerned, was not a patron of Glastonbury, but the silence is odd if the focus of much of Asser and the Chronicle is remembered - that is, Somerset and in particular Alfred's own foundation at Athelney. In this section I will examine the case of Eanwulf: the extent to which he was a patron of Glastonbury and the implications of this patronage. I shall argue that the silence may be associated with the lack of royal patronage: that Glastonbury suffered for its association with Æthelbald and Eanwulf; and that the abbey's extinction need not be inferred.

In the ninth century Glastonbury received gifts of land from the West Saxon kings Ecgbert, Æthelwulf, Æthelbald and possibly Æthelred[4]. Non-royal gifts are rarely recorded but William preserves some evidence to suggest that Tunbeorht, Bishop of Winchester, Æthelstan *comes* and Eanwulf made gifts to Glastonbury[5]. William's Eanwulf was almost certainly the ealdorman

who attests West Saxon charters from 833 (S.270) until his death in 867[6]. In 833 and 838 he witnessed in third place; from 838 to 854/6 in second place; and from 856 to 860x65 in first place[7]. His title was usually *dux* but in two charters he is called *princeps*[8]: one he witnessed in 838 at Kingston and in the other (the next charter to have survived that mentions Eanwulf) he was so described as beneficiary of land in Somerset in 842. It is difficult to account for the use of this different title but it is particularly striking that it was used early in Eanwulf's career, only twice, and not thereafter. The second of the two charters concerned land in Somerset and may have been witnessed there also. It was dated from *Andredeseme*, which Finberg suggested might be Andersey -an 'island' owned by Glastonbury and adjacent to the estate of Cheddar[9]. It would be interesting to know whether this was a title which accorded him special status in Somerset as ealdorman and land-holder. Thacker has argued that *princeps* 'was originally reserved for members of royal families and for magnates belonging to families originally royal but subordinated to a more powerful overlord'[10]. Asser described Eanwulf as ealdorman of Somerset (§12) and Æthelweard relates that he fought with the men of Somerset at the mouth of the river Parrett in 848 against the Danes[11]. The evidence that has survived about Eanwulf confirms the impression that he was active in central Somerset, and not far from Glastonbury.

He received land at Ditcheat and Lottisham from Æthelwulf in 842 (S.292); at Hornblotton from Æthelbald and Binegar from Burgred king of Mercia. All of these charters were preserved in the LT as consecutive entries[12] and all of these estates, comprising 30 hides, were, according to William, given to Glastonbury[13]; and all except Binegar were held by the abbey in 1066[14]. It does not follow, *a priori*, that these estates were

given to Glastonbury; William was quite often wrong in his attributions, reading gifts to layman as gifts to Glastonbury. The case is impossible to prove one way or the other, but it may be significant that there is no other record of these estates in the Glastonbury archive to suggest that these estates did not come to Glastonbury on the death of Eanwulf. Moreover, in view of the fact that he was buried at Glastonbury, some gift to the abbey might be expected. Æthelweard provides the vital information on his burial - the only person known to have been buried at Glastonbury in the ninth century. The estates form a group of adjacent lands which were c.4 miles east of Glastonbury (except Binegar which is in north Somerset). As modern parishes the group is geographically separated from Glastonbury only by the parishes of east and west Pennard[15].

It may be this Eanwulf who is mentioned in an agreement between Ordlaf and Winchester (S.1284 for 900) concerning an exchange of estates, where Eanwulf is identified as the grandfather of Ordlaf. The document concerned the estate at Fonthill, Wilts. This was also the subject of a letter possibly written by Ordlaf to Edward the Elder in which the son of Eanwulf *Peneard* is mentioned[16]. His name is not given, only that of his presumably more important father, Eanwulf. It must be a possibility that Eanwulf *Peneard* was Ordlaf's grandfather and ealdorman of Somerset[17]. If so it is particularly interesting that his name is given as Peneard. Harmer considered it possible that the name was derived from a Celtic place-name. and the name of the estates between Ditcheat and Glastonbury was *Pengeard* or Pennard[18]. This would be in keeping with what we know of Ealdorman Eanwulf and would imply that his family came from the locality.

Eanwulf also bought part of one *casatum* at *Brunham* from Guthlac, abbot of Glastonbury, in 824. This has been identified as Brompton Ralph[19]. A

grant by Queen Frithogyth to Glastonbury in c.729 of *Brunantun*, recorded by William, has also been identified as Brompton Ralph[20]; the estate was recorded in DB as having belonged to Glastonbury[21]. Whilst this is possible it would mean that the name-form in the earlier document, with the element *-ton*, was a later form than that of the later document, with no *-ton* element. Another identification might be worth considering, Burnham-on-Sea[22]. If the latter is correct the sale might be explicable: the abbey was selling land on the coast, which the Viking raids on the north coast of Somerset had made difficult to maintain. It is perhaps significant that Burnham lies at the Parrett mouth, adjacent to the Glastonbury 'island' of Brent Knoll, and presumably in the area where Eanwulf fought the Danes. The land was, however, later given by King Alfred to his son Edward[23], which suggests if not that the Burnham-on-sea identification is wrong, then that Eanwulf (or his successors) was not able to retain the estate, perhaps in the face of the Viking attacks.

The purchase is also interesting for the price paid. The unit of land was only a part of one hide *(unius cassati porcionem)* yet the price was considerable; 500 *solidi*, 200 for the abbot and 300 for the monks[24]. A long series of charters from the late eighth century to late ninth century, provide similar evidence of payments for land and rights. Large payments appear again in the late tenth century when Viking invasions again became a major cause of disruption[25]. Where the Glastonbury transaction is unusual is in the fact that most charters recording sales of land were issued by Mercian kings - certainly in this period of the early ninth century - and that here a church was ostensibly selling land to a layman. The few comparable examples suggest that there may have been more to this grant; for theoretically church land was inalienable and where churchmen 'sold'

land it was on the understanding that the land would be returned to the church[26]. In other words Abbot Guthlac may have loaned the land to Eanwulf, either for a lump-sum payment and/or an additional annual rent. In view of the precarious nature of such grants it is worth recalling Maitland's comments '..when land is loaned to a king or a great nobleman, this may be in consideration of his patronage and protection; the church stipulates for his *amicitia.* We may say that he becomes the *advocatus* of the church..'[27].

The sum itself is difficult to evaluate, but it would suggest that Eanwulf had considerable wealth at his disposal[28]. It is impossible to know the worth of the land, but a basic comparison of payments suggests that 500 *solidi* was a high price for only part of one hide[29]. Presumably Eanwulf was making a generous purchase above what the land was worth, as a symbolic gesture to the abbey.

Eanwulf is perhaps best known for his part in the conspiracy to depose Æthelbald's father Æthelwulf. Asser describes the events: whilst Æthelwulf was in Rome (c.855) Æthelbald, Ealhstan, Bishop of Sherborne and Eanwulf plotted against him. Asser notes that many people considered that the Bishop and Ealdorman alone were responsible whilst others attributed the events to the greed of Æthelbald. Whatever the explanation Asser certainly gives Æthelbald a bad press, describing him as iniquitous and grasping (*iniquus et pertinax*). The conspiracy was centred in Somerset and Dorset (as Asser states, in the western part of Selwood) around a group of men who acted in common: Ealhstan and Eanwulf fought together in 848 (and died in the same year, 867)[30]; Eanwulf was a patron of Glastonbury, as was Æthelbald who gave 10 hides at Braunton to Hereferth, abbot of Glastonbury[31]. Ealhstan, having been a monk of the monastery and having

played a role in securing the estate at Doulting, was surely considered a patron.

Now it is remarkable that whilst Æthelwulf and his elder son Æthelbald were patrons of Glastonbury, Alfred was not. The fourteenth-century compiler of the Glastonbury Cartulary was moved to write that Alfred enriched (*ditaret*) Glastonbury *non thessauro, non patrimonio, non sumptibus, non redditibus*[32]. All that Glastonbury received from Alfred was, according to William, a part of the true cross[33]. But the story appears rather as a conciliatory gesture: it could have come from Asser or the ASC which record that Pope Marinus gave (part of) the *lignum Domini* to Alfred (*s.a.* 882/4). The only other reference in Glastonbury sources is to a (lost) privilege of Alfred to the abbey, but this is cited only in the forged charter of Cnut[34]. The absence of any record of gifts by Alfred might not be surprising when the paucity of evidence as a whole for this period is remembered. There is very little evidence about any monastery. But the absence of any record after c.878x9 (on which see below) is as striking as is the absence of any contemporary reference to Glastonbury. This is all the more curious if it is appreciated how concerned the sources are with matters in Somerset[35]. Asser describes Alfred's campaign against the Vikings from its origins in the heartland of Somerset. He mentions the baptism of Guthrum at Aller and the unbinding of the chris m at Wedmore (both in central Somerset some 12 and 10 miles respectively from the monastery). He describes Alfred's fortress at Athelney and later the monastery that he built there. He also describes with relish his own monasteries in central Somerset, of Banwell and Congresbury (c.20-25 miles from Glastonbury)[36]. Yet Glastonbury, arguably the largest monastery in Somerset, which is only some 12 miles from Athelney, is never mentioned[37].

There is a later account which perhaps throws this silence into sharper relief. A passage in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, which may have been composed in the mid-tenth century, describes Alfred's retreat into the Somerset marshlands and the appearance of St Cuthbert, promising victory for the king[38]. The interest here is that the *Historia* states that Alfred went to *Glastonbury* and not to Athelney, as the Chronicle reveals. Clearly for the author of this passage the connection was logical; the king went to the great monastery of the region. The author did not know of Athelney and saw no anomaly in his suggestion. Whilst St Cuthbert's community had reason to believe that Glastonbury was a monastery of considerable importance, it had no reason to think Glastonbury had been destroyed. Of course this raises the question of where the St Cuthbert's author learned of the story - certainly there may have been contact with Glastonbury in the first half of the tenth century - but given the way the story contradicts the Chronicle and the fact that no similar mention is made in any Glastonbury source, it seems likely that the story was a home-bred one; that is at St Cuthbert's in Chester-le-Street[39].

There are clearly two alternative explanations: either Glastonbury was destroyed or it was deliberately ignored.

William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum* did describe destruction at Glastonbury: *Tunc enim*, (after the arrival of the Danes in Alfred's reign)..*desolatus, aliquantis annis notos desiderauit incolas*[40]. Modern scholarship has been less inclined to express an opinion of outright destruction at Glastonbury but has tacitly assumed that the monastery suffered[41]. Robinson wrote in the 1920s, 'the abbey appears to have been in the king's hands, ruled, as it may be, by thanes who were abbots only in name. Religious observance was low and not much learning was to be found

there; but it was still a centre to which Irish pilgrims came and Dunstan profited by their knowledge and their learning'[42]. Finberg writing some 30 years later was less guarded. He conjectured that an Irish school was opened in the reign of Alfred, 'for what better use could be found for a decayed monastery in the King's hands ?' Finberg went on to draw a comparison with the derelict monasteries of Abingdon and Ely[43].

Several important assumptions underlie the arguments of Robinson and Finberg : in particular, that the monastery was destroyed or at least that religious observance was 'low'. This perhaps gained greater credibility in the light of the second assumption that the monastery was royal property to be disposed of as the king wished. It was the destruction of the monastery which gave the king a free hand. In the more general context of ninth-century monasticism Fleming has argued much the same thing for a number of monasteries: that the Viking raids affected the pattern of land holding by the church, that land was taken by the king (Alfred) from defunct monasteries used to endow his followers and later to re-endow the monastic communities[44].

Two points should be made. First, the evidence that the king re-distributed the land of redundant monasteries should be treated with care. Certainly there are examples of monastic land that Alfred appropriated and it is possible that these may have included the sites of extinct monasteries also. But the evidence for this last comes from the period after the reform and may be coloured thereby[45]. Secondly, there is a danger inherent in the foregoing, of assuming that because a monastery was in the king's hands, it had suffered because of the Vikings.

There is good evidence that Glastonbury was a royal monastery. In the tenth century B described Glastonbury as a 'royal island'[46]: whilst

possibly a boast, this claim does appear to have substance. But it is important to stress that Glastonbury had not recently fallen into royal hands because it had suffered Viking attack. I have argued that the abbey was treated as a royal monastery from its foundation, by Centwine and later by Ine and then Cenwulf. The two suppositions, destruction and royal ownership of a monastery should thus be considered separately.

It has long been assumed that monasteries were largely destroyed in the ninth century[47]. This is partly attributable to the way the problem has been conceived by modern historians; following the works of reformed monks writing in the tenth century, monasticism as it was then understood, survived or it did not; there were no half-measures[48]. Yet clearly both communal and non-communal religious life did survive; and a community's response to attack might have varied considerably, from defence to temporary abandonment, to total destruction[49]. The question of survival also demands consideration of the question of how the Vikings have been perceived; whether they destroyed and plundered all that they saw or whether they attempted in any way to become integrated into society. This in turn would depend on the Vikings' own perception of Christianity, which increasingly is seen to have been an ambivalent one[50]. With such changing ground, destruction cannot be assumed (see Appendix IV).

It is worth asking when Glastonbury could have been attacked and what evidence there is to suggest that it survived. Two distinct periods of Viking activity can be isolated from entries in the Chronicle; one in the second quarter of the century, the other in the 870s. The first might reflect the period when Glastonbury was most vulnerable. Viking raids were being made along the north coast of the south-western peninsula, in 836 at Carhampton (So), 838 in Cornwall, 843 at Carhampton again and in 845 at the

Parrett mouth. The progression was eastwards, up the Bristol Channel and perhaps culminating in the decisive victory at the Parrett[51]. During this period, it is possible that the Vikings made other forays into Somerset, by sailing up the Parrett and then onto the Tone, or by sailing up the Brue or Cary, both of which would have given access to Glastonbury, and certainly to many of its estates. But there is evidence for the existence of the monastery after this period, in the 860s, and although it may have suffered indirectly there is no evidence that it suffered directly. The second period was when Alfred was most hard-pressed in the 870s[52], and he 'retreated' to Somerset, from early January 878 to 'the seventh week after Easter' (7-10 May) in the same year. It should be noted that the Chronicle whilst referring to Alfred's fortress at Athelney and the forays he made from there, does not mention any specific encounter with the Vikings[53]. The apparently decisive battle of 878 was to the *east* of Selwood at Edington (Wilts). The argument could of course be turned around: the presence of Alfred and his retinue in Somerset could have been enough to see off any Viking threat in that area[54]. The evidence of the Glastonbury obit-list is important here for it suggests that the monastery survived and was able to record the obit of Bishop Tunbeorht (878x9), at the time when Alfred was making peace with Guthrum.

The alternative theory is that Glastonbury was deliberately ignored by later ninth-century writers, Asser and the ASC. Why should Asser have treated Glastonbury in this way? In §93 when discussing the foundation of Athelney, Asser notes that a number of monasteries had been built in that area (*in illa regione*) but no longer kept monastic life following a Rule[55]. *In illa regione* could refer to the whole kingdom, but Asser uses the phrase in §93 in the context of Athelney and its problems. He also knew well the

Somerset monasteries of Congresbury and Banwell which had been given to him (§81) and hence it may be that Asser was specifically directing his comments towards Somerset as a whole. It may also be that Glastonbury was one of these monasteries which Asser did not consider to follow a Rule.

There is another explanation: that Glastonbury was ignored because of its patronage by Æthelbald and Eanwulf, for whom Asser expressed a great dislike. If Asser was writing what Alfred wished to hear, then Alfred too might have felt an antipathy towards his brother who might have deprived him of the right to succeed to the throne[56]. Loyalty was the quality that Alfred stressed in his own writing and it was exactly this which Eanwulf and Æthelbald lacked, according to Asser. Alfred's first law states 'but first we enjoin what is most necessary that each man keep closely his oath and his pledge,' which might be taken to indicate that an oath of loyalty was sworn to him[57]. By extension if Glastonbury was the monastery of the rebellious ealdorman, Alfred may have turned his patronage elsewhere - to his own monastery of Athelney. Elsewhere Alfred had apparently encountered disloyalty; Ealdorman Wulfhere had forfeited his property through desertion[58]. It is then of some interest that a charter of Ethelred I giving Winterbourne to Wulfhere has survived in the Glastonbury archive (S.341). William claimed that Wulfhere had given the estate to Glastonbury which might have added fuel to Alfred's displeasure; alternatively the charter may have come into Glastonbury's possession sometime later. It should also be observed that later King Athelstan owned the estate, perhaps because the land had been confiscated by Alfred[59].

There is some slight evidence to suggest that Alfred acquired land that had once belonged to Glastonbury or which the abbey felt it had some claim to[60]. The monastery claimed that Wilfrid in the seventh century had

given the estate of Wedmore to Glastonbury but the land was firmly in royal control by the ninth century, according to Alfred's will[61]. It is not clear exactly when (or if) the land was lost. Similarly, Glastonbury had received land at Creech in the eighth century which may have been the subject of a grant by Alfred to his *minister* Athelstan (S.345)[62].

Whilst inevitably arguments constructed *ex silentio* have their limitations, I think the absence of comments about Glastonbury in the source material can be seen as significant and not simply fortuitous. They are explicable in terms both negative and positive; that Alfred turned his patronage away from Glastonbury and instead promoted his own monastery at Athelney, possibly at Glastonbury's expense. What I think the silences do not show is destruction or desertion at Glastonbury.

7.2: A Case For Continuity

There is an alternative and admittedly somewhat more speculative way of looking at the problem of Glastonbury's continuity over this period: that is to examine the estates owned by the abbey before and after c.900 to see if there was significant disruption or change in the patterns of the holdings. In the following I have omitted from discussion charters which although of an early date were not necessarily gifts to Glastonbury. I have assumed that if there was no further record of an estate which had been given to Glastonbury before c.900, for example, a later gift which might account for the earlier document having been included in the Glastonbury archive, then some degree of continuity in the holding of the estate is probable.

This course of argument is beset with problems. Most obviously, if an estate was granted to the abbey in, for example, the seventh century and was held by the abbey in 1066 and there was no surviving record of the estate in between these dates, then it does not necessarily follow that the estate was held without interruption. Documents recording disputes may have been the first to have been 'edited' out of the abbey archives[63]. The second major problem to bear in mind is that some of the early charters may not be genuine[64]. There is no way of testing those charters which do not survive in full. Nevertheless some useful conclusions are I think possible.

First, a large number of estates in Somerset granted to the abbey before 900 were not the subject of later documentation in the Anglo-Saxon period and were held in 1066. I have included 20 such estates in the following discussion[65]. This does raise the question not only of whether the original grants were genuine but also whether the estates referred to in the earlier documents were the same as those in DB. Many of the early grants were of large areas of which constituent parts may have been the subject of later grants; and we do not know the exact extent of the early grants which may have included what were later several estates (parishes)[66].

Secondly, the estates just mentioned form a distinct pattern around, and in close proximity to, Glastonbury, almost all lying within a radius of c.10x15 miles. This conforms closely to what is known of the development of other monasteries. On the continent, for example, the lands of Fontenay and the Cluniac priories in NE France tended initially to be situated within a radius of c.25km (c.15m) that is a day's walk or return ride on horse-back[67]. In England the development of the estates at Glastonbury is analogous to that of Thorney, Ramsey, Ely and Peterborough[68], although the

circumstances that pertained in the period before 900 need not have been the same as the late Saxon 'land market'. Nevertheless the securing of control of nearby estates was fundamental to the early development of these monasteries[69]. The Glastonbury estates formed contiguous 'blocks' occupying distinctive geographical areas: Polden Hills, Brent island, Glastonbury and surrounding islands and the Doulting stream area.

Thirdly, Glastonbury received gifts of land in other counties, especially Devon. But with the possible exceptions of Uffculme and Braunton these estates were subsequently lost to Glastonbury. Again, this highlights the difficulty of retaining estates some distance away. But the example of Braunton, which was only exchanged in the mid-tenth century for land closer to Glastonbury, is important, since, despite the distance from Glastonbury, it suggests some ability to maintain the estate throughout a period of difficulty[70].

Fourthly and most significantly, it is noticeable that in the period of the so-called refoundation during the abbacy of Dunstan, acquisitions were not estates in Somerset but in Dorset and Wiltshire - areas which do not appear in pre 900 lists[71].

There is thus some reason for believing that a number of the abbey's estates in Somerset were retained from the ninth to the tenth century; and that in the tenth century the development of the estates moved in a different direction towards Wiltshire and Dorset. Hence no major disruption to the community can be posited.

The foregoing survey is not proof of continuity but it does at least admit of the possibility. What, then, of the alternative? If it is supposed that the monastery did suffer either extinction or substantial loss of lands then it must be assumed that any documents recording restitution of

lands - if such were made - were subsequently lost. Neither William nor any later chronicler of the abbey give any hint that this might have been the case, although since William's purpose was to establish the antiquity of the foundation he might have glossed over any disruption. It is possible that the monastery itself ceased to exist but that the estates were kept as a whole through the intervention of a bishop (Winchester or Sherborne) or a local lord[72]. Robinson's discussions tended towards the latter conclusion. Had this been the case then we should have to suppose that the lands were returned to the refounded monastery; and hence that the hypothetical bishop or layman relinquished control of the estates in the tenth century. There is little evidence to suggest that possession of any of Glastonbury's estates was disputed by a bishop in the tenth century: the one possible case concerns Wells and not Winchester or Sherborne[73].

If monastic records did survive a supposed destruction, what happened to them? This is an important question since it must be remembered that no MS dating from before the tenth century can be assigned with certainty to Glastonbury. If records, such as charters and a *liber uitae*, did survive, then they did so most probably at Glastonbury itself. It is possible that the community temporarily left the monastery and took any records with them[74]. But this is speculation. Thus my argument is both negative, that it cannot be proved that monastery was destroyed, and positive, that there is some evidence for continuity.

Finally, if the monastery was destroyed, then when was it refounded? The evidence discussed above both from the B life and from the ninth century suggest that the monastery can only have suffered destruction over a relatively short period, after Alfred had made peace in Somerset.

In conclusion, it seems quite plausible to argue that the community at Glastonbury continued to exist despite the paucity of evidence because:

1, Viking attacks have been over-rated and

2, there is no evidence that they reached Glastonbury or its immediate environs.

3, Some explanation for the pattern in the development of the estates is needed. It fits the theory of continuity.

4, Evidence for the early tenth century does not suggest a hiatus but rather a thriving community.

7.3: The Abbatial Sequence

B provides the most substantial information concerning the monastery. He describes the ancient church of St Mary and the stone church of SS Peter and Paul: places frequented by the faithful. He immediately follows this description in ch.3 with a record of a visit by Dunstan when he was a boy[75]. There is no mention of interruption or disruption in the community. This is not conclusive, since B is vague about historical events before the reign of Athelstan, but against this should be set the fact that B was almost certainly a witness to events at Glastonbury during Dunstan's abbacy[76]. If Dunstan was born c.909 then his visit may have been in the second decade of the tenth century[77]. Certainly there was some type of community there when he visited, for the next chapter (4) of the *Vita* recalls his progress in learning which we can deduce was at Glastonbury: in the same chapter Dunstan's progress in learning is followed by the story of his illness and how whilst sleep-walking he climbed the roof of the church (*templum*)[78]. Finally, in the following chapter we are told that Dunstan's

parents, impressed by his ability, 'put on him the proper tonsure of the clerical office and associated him to the famous community (*coenobium*) of Glastonbury'[79]. B, then, assumes (or perhaps glosses over) continuity in the religious life at Glastonbury from some ill-defined earlier time to that when Dunstan first visited the monastery. The vague narrative of B could give us leave to suppose that Dunstan was placed in the monastery from an early age and remained there until he had taken orders. If the monastery was destroyed or abandoned, it must have been revived rapidly in order to allow Dunstan to enter before c.920 a community which by B's account was already quite well established.

There is scant evidence apart from the 'Life' for the community's survival. William provides a list of abbots of which two in particular might have been concerned with the community in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. This list, although of extreme importance for this period, presents considerable difficulties.

In §54 of the DA William records the gifts made by Athelstan during the abbacy of Ælfric and hence in the period 925x39. But following this William notes the abbots Stiþheard s.a.981 and Aldhun s.a.992. The next abbot is Dunstan, succeeding c.940. Clearly this must be incorrect but it is difficult to attribute so obvious a chronological error to William[80].

First, the dates of Stiþheard and Aldhun could be amended as Robinson suggested to s.a.891 and 922 respectively[81]. These emendations gain some support from the list DA2 which records these two abbots s.a 890 and 905. It is also important to remember that the accuracy of the dates recorded in the DA has suffered considerably in the transmission of the text. A second emendation could be made whereby these two abbots are placed before the material relating to the reign of King Athelstan[82]. Again, this is how they

appear in DA2. It is possible, then, that at some point in transmission, William's original text was corrupted.

Unfortunately, William provides the only evidence for the existence of abbots Stiþheard and Aldhun. Concerning Stiþheard, William mentions only pictures of him that 'bear witness to his name, for in all portrayals he is shown with a scourge or birch'[83]. No charter evidence for Stiþheard is cited. It is interesting that the only other abbots described by William for whom he cites no charter authority are the rather dubious Britons Lademund and Bregored, whose names William read on a wall painting[84]. None of this can inspire confidence. It could suggest that William was looking to fill a gap in the charter evidence by using another source. But one would like to know what sort of painting contained the pictures of Stiþheard and how William knew that he was an abbot and what is the significance of the date 891[85]. Dodwell offers the suggestion that these were commemorative paintings possibly to mark the abbots' tombs[86]; in that case, 891 might mark Stiþheard's obit. In this context we should note William's interest in sepulchral inscriptions.

Aldhun is recorded as having received a grant of land at Compton from Edward the Elder possibly in 922 but more certainly in 899x924[87]. Aldhun does not, however, appear in any ninth- or tenth-century witness-list. Further, the charter is lost and hence William's evidence is unverifiable. But it should not be dimissed because of this. In its favour there are two points: one, there is no further record of a gift of this estate, and two, the estate was owned by the abbey in 1066. It is interesting that the allegedly lost estate lay not far from Glastonbury (c.2 miles south): it is one of very few instances of restitution recorded in the abbey archives[88] It should not be surprising that Aldhun cannot be found in surviving

witness-lists given that very few charters survive from the reign of Edward.

The next abbot mentioned by William is Ælfric. William describes several grants made during the abbacy of Ælfric but no grant was made directly to the abbot. Therefore, as Robinson suggested, William may have been guessing in his identification of Ælfric, perhaps having seen that an abbot Ælfric regularly attested charters of Athelstan[89]. It is very difficult to identify *any* of the abbots who witness these charters, but there is nothing to connect Ælfric with Glastonbury. Indeed, Athelstan granted to an abbot Ælfric land in Hampshire, that was held by the bishop of Winchester in DB[90]. If he is the same as the witness of the charters he may perhaps have been an abbot of the New Minster[91]. Alternatively, it is just possible that Ælfric was recorded as abbot when Athelstan Half-King made his bequest to the monastery, an event which William thought to have been in the reign of Athelstan but which may have occurred on the Half-King's retirement there in c.956. This would accord with the placing of Ælfric given by the Tiberius list, where he follows Dunstan[92].

But three reservations must be lodged: first, we do not know how long Dunstan was abbot and hence when Ælfric was abbot; second, there were several abbots named Ælfric in the second half of the tenth century and distinguishing between them is not always possible; and third, Ælfric might be a mistake for Ælfstan.

Finally, the Tiberius list describes two men, Cuthred and Ecgwulf, who immediately precede Dunstan but are not recorded by William. There is no other record of Ecgwulf. As for Cuthred, Robinson following Stubbs noted that a man of that name is mentioned in a charter of Athelstan[93] and in the St Gall confraternity book, suggesting that he might be the same as the

abbot of Glastonbury[94]. In neither document, however, is he entitled Abbot; in the charter he is a *minister*. Robinson offered the explanation that if Glastonbury was a 'royal monastery' and in the hands of a lay abbot then it should not be surprising that he was not described as abbot in the St Gall Book[95]. This does presuppose that a distinction was being made at St Gall in the early tenth century between lay abbots and abbots, an assumption which might be questioned. Robinson's suggestion that Cuthred was a lay abbot may have been prompted by the belief that lay abbots were a consequence of the supposed decline in monasticism in the ninth century, where monasteries fell into the hands of the king who placed laymen in charge of the lands[96].

Thus, like the evidence from B, the abbatial names suggest that there was a community at Glastonbury in the early tenth century. Of the five charters which survive for the reign of Edward, three do not obviously have any relationship with Glastonbury, apart from the fact that they were recorded in its archive[97]. A fourth charter concerns the estate at Wrington, given to Ealdorman Æthelfrith and later to Glastonbury by his son, Athelstan Half-King[98]. The fifth charter, recorded by William, is the restoration of land at *Cumton*, discussed above. This at least would suggest activity in 922 if not 899x924.

7.4: Æthelflaed

One of the most important episodes in Glastonbury's pre-Conquest history concerns the lady Æthelflaed who retired to Glastonbury sometime in the early part of the tenth century. Her presence at Glastonbury is

important evidence for the survival of activity at the abbey and, in particular, for the interest of the king.

It is not certain who Æthelflaed was. According to B she a *praediues matrona* and of royal birth, *regali ex progenie orta*; a widow, she came to Glastonbury, where she built a house near to the church. There she entertained royal visitors, one of whom was Athelstan[99]. She was thus at Glastonbury before c.939 when Athelstan died and after c.909 when Dunstan was born, more probably in the 920s or 930s when he joined the community[100]. William's information that Æthelflaed was the niece of Athelstan might be no more than a guess since no niece of his, of the same name, fits the circumstances of the Glastonbury Æthelflaed[101]. Nonetheless B makes it clear that she was of royal birth and the fact that Athelstan visited her would suggest some relationship between the two.

Why was Æthelflaed at Glastonbury? Stenton noted, in a wider context, that a number of grants were made to religious women in the reigns of Athelstan and Edmund[102]. More recently, Dumville has drawn attention to the fact that of the six archives from which the charters relating to these religious women come, only two are those of nunneries[103], thereby raising the question of why the women are styled nuns if they are not obviously linked to nunneries. Dumville concluded that the most likely explanation is that by the mid-century, enthusiasm for religious life had begun to grip some sections of the aristocracy and that for women the best opportunity to pursue such a vocation was presented by the grant of an estate which she would hold herself and where she could choose by what standards, whether religious or not, to live. But it would be misleading to see this phenomenon as simply reflecting religious fervour; it may be that for a widow, or even an unmarried woman, the best chance of securing her future

and her property was to assume religious devotion[104]. Further, it appears that the enthusiasm continued in the same numbers into Edgar's reign; hence no peak should be seen in the reign of Edmund; and hence this enthusiasm is difficult to link directly to a revival of religious interest in reaction to previous decline, as Stenton has done. More specifically, Æthleflaed's interest in Glastonbury cannot be linked with reform[105]. Dumville also raised the point that some of these women might have been associated as patrons with communities of religious men. He cites the example of the nun Ælfwyn who held land from Winchester and which subseqently she gave to the church[106]. The Worcester survey in DB records that Eadgyth, a nun, had been leased land by the community[107]. In this context perhaps Æthelflaed at Glastonbury could fit.

B tells us of the arrival of Æthelflaed's *magister* and *sacerdos cum alio sociorum contubernio* which suggests perhaps that she had her own private chaplain and retinue. It is interesting that B first mentions the arrival of her *magister* (in fulfillment of a prophecy) before he says that Æthelflaed had arrived. Perhaps this led Green to speculate that the *magister* might have been Æthelflaed's husband[108]. In the following chapter B then states that Æthelflaed came to Glastonbury after the death of her husband[109]. B is, however, vague and introduces the *magister* as part of the story of Wulfred: the *magister* arrived and declared that he wished to be buried in a place foretold by Wulfred. It would further seem unlikely that the *magister* and the company of Æthelflaed should all go to Glastonbury without Æthelflaed herself (or at least without her permission)[110]. Finberg's suggestion that Æthelflaed introduced clerks where, before, the vacant abbey had only Irish scholars there, is thus incorrect[111]. The B life does not state that Æthelflaed installed a number of clerks at

Glastonbury, rather it records that a *magister* together with Æthelflaed's *socii* (perhaps her household, which might have included a priest) came to Glastonbury.

Whilst Æthelflaed did not lead a strictly contemplative life she did attract royal visits[112]. This could have been a consequence of Æthelflaed's presence at Glastonbury: she was related to the king. It could equally have been fortuitous that a relation of the king took up residence at a monastery the king was already accustomed to visit. Certainly her influence at Glastonbury should not be underestimated and a favourable ear would surely have been to Athelstan's advantage[113].

In a wider context Athelstan's visit raises the question of the use he made of monasteries. B relates a story about the miraculous intervention of the Virgin, to provide enough mead. Significantly B notes that the king sent his *praevisores* ahead to ensure that there would be sufficient mead for the king and his retinue, suggesting that the king was accustomed to such visits[114]; and here B's use of the plural is surely significant. There is an analogous story in the Abingdon Chronicle where Athelstan received the embassy of Hugh, duke of the Franks in 926 and his gifts of relics[115]. The king like his continental counterparts was itinerant and like continental kings he relied on using monasteries as staging posts, as well as his royal estates.

7.5: Athelstan

Winchester is thought to have been one of few communites to have survived the troubled ninth century. Yet whilst Winchester may have played an important role in the tenth century it was not the sole monastery to

have survived[116]. Others were important, for example, king Athelstan was buried, not in Winchester (NM), but rather in his favoured monastery of Malmesbury[117]. The evidence of B clearly indicates that at Glastonbury there was an active community in the reign of Athelstan. I shall consider: first, the gifts Athelstan made of relics to various monasteries, asking whether Glastonbury should be numbered among these; and secondly, what, if any, gifts of land were made to Glastonbury in this period.

It has been argued that Athelstan's gifts of relics, like those of other tenth-century kings, were expressions of royal power and probably part of deliberate policy[118]. In those areas where he had least control we might expect him to have used the symbolism of relics, and the effects of his patronage to demonstrate his claim to being *Rex Britanniae*. Glastonbury has also been seen as a monastery that lay in marginal lands: B described it as *in Westsaxonum finibus*[119]. And it is from the early tenth century that the first evidence appears for the cult of St Patrick at Glastonbury[120].

William recorded in the DA that Athelstan gave a number of relics to Glastonbury which were recorded in the *textus* of St Dunstan[121]. The *textus* suggests that the relics were recorded in a gospel book as in the eleventh-century Bath list and the OE Exeter list[122]. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing when Dunstan's book was written or acquired, and whether it should be numbered with those other books given by Athelstan, or whether it was the same as the one given by Edmund and into which the privilege of that king was written. It was perhaps the first possibility which prompted Robinson to suggest that Dunstan had at his disposal at Glastonbury part of Athelstan's collection of relics[123].

Three lists of relics at Glastonbury have survived. The earliest is a thirteenth-century list appended to the Chronicle of John of Glastonbury (JGII), the next list is London, BL, Cotton Titus D vii, a fourteenth-century MS, and finally there is the list in John's text of the 1340s (JGI)[124]. The two later lists attribute a great number of the relics to the generosity of Athelstan[125]. This attribution, however, cannot be relied upon since JGII makes no such mention; and further, because the compiler of the Titus list was evidently interested in establishing a donor for each relic. It would appear most unlikely that his attributions are anything more than guess-work[126].

The lists have, however, attracted attention because they record the relics of a number of saints from south-western Britain and from Brittany. This could be seen to reflect the interest shown by Athelstan, elsewhere, in the relics of saints from these areas[127]. Doble noticed long ago that a number of Breton and 'Celtic' saints which appear in JGII are also recorded in the Exeter relic list which claimed Athelstan as donor of its contents[128]. But while some of these relics are obscure and appear only in the Glastonbury list, a number of other collections claimed relics of 'Breton and Celtic' saints and hence their presence cannot be indicative of their date of acquisition. Doble suggested that the Exeter list(s) itself might have inspired the one at Glastonbury[129].

B recorded that Athelstan was accustomed to visit Glastonbury but B's account makes no mention of any gifts made by Athelstan to the monastery. The attribution of the manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Chrisit College, MS 183 to Glastonbury might provide evidence of a further and more intimate connection, for not only does it suggest that the king turned to Glastonbury for the production of the MS but also that royal genealogies

were compiled there and hence possibly kept there[130]. Royal genealogies were also copied, from a Glastonbury exemplar, into the eleventh-century MS Tiberius B v[131]. If Athelstan was making a political statement in his claim to promote the cult of St Cuthbert in Wessex, then by association the MS (containing the royal genealogies), if from Glastonbury, would suggest an important role for that monastery and would link it with the West Saxon dynasty.

In §54 of the DA, William noted that a number of gifts from laymen to the monastery were evidence of Athelstan's pious devotion to Glastonbury. William does not in fact record any gift by the king himself; only that the king confirmed the gifts of his thegns. If Athelstan was a patron of Glastonbury this might appear surprising, but there is no evidence that Edmund made any gift directly to the monastery. It is possible that such gifts were made but no record of them has survived, although in view of the importance of royal gifts this would seem unlikely. Alternatively, it may be that royal grants (those recorded by charter) of land to monasteries in the tenth century are to be associated with more 'recent' foundations; this does, however, raise the awkward question of which monasteries were recent, and which had survived intact[132]. Where a monastery was well established royal patronage may have taken a different and perhaps less direct form; for example through exchanges, promoting members of the community or, as William says, by encouraging his thegns to make bequests. It is notable that there is a distinct change in the form between those grants made to Glastonbury before c.900 and those thereafter. The earlier gifts are generally made by kings; the latter are mostly from laymen, non-royal benefactors. This in turn might reflect a shift in the pattern of patronage as the monastery became established[133].

Of the grants mentioned by William, Athelstan Half-King's grants although recorded in §54 may have been made when he became a monk of Glastonbury in c.956 and hence may not provide evidence for this period[134]. The remaining gifts are of 10 hides at Marksbury from Æthelhelm; 10 hides at Winterbourne from Ælflæd; 20 hides at *Deuerel* (Longbridge, Wilts) made by Archbishop Wulfhelm; 10 hides at *Werdeuerel* (Monkton Deverill, Wilts) from Osfrith; and 5 hides at *Stoka* from *Uffa uiuda*[135]. Some caution must be used since William frequently treats royal grants to laymen (or ecclesiastics) which survive in the abbey's archive, as gifts from these people to Glastonbury. Thus despite the fact that these grants were all recorded as possessions of the abbey in DB, it cannot be certain when they were acquired. But since there is no subsequent record of the gifts, it is at least possible that they were made by the named donors.

Wulfhelm's grant is interesting for it is the only gift of land to Glastonbury recorded from an archbishop. Some explanation of Wulfhelm's gift might take account of the fact that he was formerly Bishop of Wells, and between Glastonbury and Wells a close connection persisted throughout the tenth century, for a number of bishops of Wells had been monks of Glastonbury[136]. The estate granted by Osfrith was adjacent to that of Wulfhelm and it would be a curious coincidence if two adjacent estates were given to Glastonbury by two unrelated, but contemporary, donors. It may be that both estates were granted by a successor of both Osfrith and Wulfhelm, which would imply some relationship between the two[137]; and since Wulfhelm died in 941, the gifts were presumably made after that date.

Uffa's grant of *Stoka* is not recorded elsewhere; but the LT did preserve a charter given by Athelstan to one Ælfric[138]. It is possible, then, that Uffa was the widow of Ælfric[139]. It is difficult to know in what

source William found Uffa's gift recorded. Did William have access to a now lost source, and perhaps one which recorded lay bequests? If the LT had noted the subsequent donation by Uffa, we might expect it to have been recorded, as the comparable case of Wulfric shows. This is not the only grant for which William is the only source[140]: in the same chapter of the DA (54) William describes the gift of Ælflaed.

There is evidence to support the theory that the abbey survived both the Viking invasions and Alfred's antipathy. A more positive relationship is suggested between the monastery and the kings Edward and Athelstan. Edward apparently favoured the monastery by restoring an estate. In contrast Athelstan made no gift directly to the abbey. Yet if Athelstan was accustomed to visit his relative at Glastonbury, as B tells us, and if the MS CCCC 183 can be attributed to Glastonbury, this would be a remarkable indication of the extent of Athelstan's patronage of Glastonbury. It would suggest that the monastery continued to be a royal *Eigenkloster*.

Notes: Chapter Seven

1) For general introductions see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 239-69; EHD, pp. 90-2; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, pp. 9-58; Wormald, 'Ninth Century', pp. 132-59.

2) See below nn 40-3.

3) See below nn. 49 and 50.

4) DA, §§ 52-3, pp. 110-13.

5) For Tunbeorht see below pp. 409-12; on Athelstan *comes* see DA § 52, pp 112-13.

6) SS.270, 280, 1438, 292, 320, 322, 301, 304, 307, 311, 312, 306, 317, 1196, 327, 226.

7) SS.270, 280; SS.1438-306; SS.317-226.

8) SS.270, 280.

9) ECW, no.405.

10) Thacker, 'Some Terms', pp. 201-36 at 203-5.

11) *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, p. 9; *Æthelweard*, ed. Campbell, p. 31.

12) LT 91, 92, 93. These charters are recorded consecutively possibly because the compiler of the LT organised them thus, but he did not consistently organise charters into groups by a common beneficiary or even donor. It is also conceivable that the charters were deposited at Glastonbury as a group and remained together.

13) DA, §53, pp. 112-13.

14) Binegar was claimed by Wells in 1065, S.1042.

15) These estates gave Eanwulf excellent access to the Foss Way and hence perhaps some 'control' of that route. Cf. the estates of Ealdorman Æthelwulf (of Berkshire) from which he was able to intercept the Vikings (with men of his household) along an 'ancient road': Stenton, *Abbey of Abingdon*, pp. 26-7.

16) EHD, pp. 544-46; F.Harmer (ed.), *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1914), no. 18.

17) The suggestion was first made by W.Goodchild, 'Tisbury in Anglo-Saxon Charters', in *Wilts Archaeological Magazine* 44 (1929), 322-31 at 327 and n. 3. Ekwall apparently follows (*English Place-Names*, p. 362) and notes that *Peneарding* means 'of Pennard', from the Welsh meaning 'high hill'.

18) Harmer, *Historical Documents*, p. 115; the name appears as *Pengeard*, in S.563, a MS *s.x.* The only other similar place-name that I have found is in W.Glamorgan.

19) DA, §52, pp. 110-11. For the identification see *ECW*, no.404 and Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', p. 70.

20) DA, §44, pp. 102-03; ECW, no.382 and Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', p. 70.

21) DB 95c,d.

22) Ekwall suggests (*English Place-Names*, p. 76) that the name means the *Hamm* on the river (Parrett): where *Burn-* is from OE *burna* (=*brunna*); note also the common *Brun-*, *Burn-* elements in forms of the same place-name, *ib.*, p. 68.

23) See Alfred's Will, S.1507; discussed by Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, pp. 173-78 and 313-26 at 175 and 317.

24) See also below, p. 318.

25) See Chadwick, *Institutions*, p. 10 ff.

26) See e.g. Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III, 582.

27) Maitland, *Domesday Book*, pp. 302-03. Cf. S.1412 (786x96) Abbot Beonna of Medehamstede sold land to Cuthbeorht *princeps* for 1000 *solidi* and *unius noctis pastum*; and further S.1624 (835), S.1270 (840x52). Church land was

exchanged for other land or for privileges. Maitland (*Domesday Book*, p. 304), notes that a definite rent is seldom reserved.

28) For a general discussion of *solidi*, see C.S.Lyon, 'Historical background of Anglo-Saxon coinage - (3) Denominations and Weights', *British Numismatic Journal* 38 (1969), 204-22 at 205 ff. Cf. H.Loyn, *Anglo-Saxon England before the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, repr. 1986), pp. 130-32 and Chadwick, *Institutions*, p. 8 ff. The *solidus* was presumably the equivalent of a shilling. It appears less frequently in charters than *mancuses*, which often comprised gold objects. As a unit of account the 500 *solidi* may have been silver coins or metal, or both. William uses the word *solidus* later in §57, DA, pp. 118-19, but refers specifically to gold *solidi.*

29) Cf. DA, §46, pp. 104-05, when Æthelbald sold 4 hides to Glastonbury in 746 for 400 shillings. Cf. also S.1412, 1000 *sol.* for 10 *manentes*; S.190, 600 shillings for a liberty and 20 hides; S.204, 30 *mancuses* and 900 shillings for 9 hides; S.224, 60 pigs and 300 *sol.* for 2 *manentes.* Of course, since the land-units were not necessarily of a fixed area, the ratio between price and 'hidage' will differ considerably, for example, with the quality of the soil, or with the position of an estate. See more generally J.Campbell, 'The Sale of Land and the Economics of Power: Problems and Possibilities', *Haskins Society Journal* 1 (1989), 23-37.

30) For the conspiracy see *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 10-11. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, p. 234 n. 26. One might wonder whether it is just a coincidence that Eanwulf and Ealhstan died in the same year. Cf. the deaths of Bishops Wigthegn and Herefrith and Ealdormen Dudda and Osmod in 836, presumably after (or at) the battle at Carhampton.

31) DA, §53, pp. 112-13. Æthelbald also granted land at *Wodetone* (?N.Wotton) to one Heregyð (LT 64). Given that *Here-* is not a common name-

compound for female names, could she have been a relation of the contemporary Abbot Herefrith? On the name Heregyð see Searle, *Onomasticon*, p. 293. It should also be observed that despite the fact that Æthelbald was said to have been buried at Sherborne (ASC AE 860) no grant of his to that house survives: there is no mention of him in the Sherborne list of (now lost) royal charters; O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, pp. xxxvii-liii. He is only referred to in two Sherborne charters; one of Æthelberht, S.333; the other (spurious) of Æthelwulf, S.294. One extant charter of his survives in the Shaftesbury Cartulary, S.326. In contrast three of his charters are referred to in Glastonbury sources: LT 19, 64 and 92.

32) GC I, 144.

33) DA, §53, pp. 112-13. Cf. *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 286-87

34) DA, §65, pp. 132-33, and see the later charter of Henry II: AD II, 336-40 .

35) On the focus of the Chronicle see the comments of F.M.Stenton, 'The South-Western Element in the Old English Chronicle', in *Preparatory*, ed. D.Stenton, pp. 106-15; although he may be overstating the case.

36) Note that Banwell was adjacent to the estate of Elborough, owned by Glastonbury, possibly from the late eighth century; DA, §48, pp. 106-07.

37) A journey by land between the two places might take longer than the distance implies since it would have involved some detour around the marshlands. The quickest route may have been by boat.

38) See *Historia De Sancto Cuthberto*, in *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T.Arnold, RS (London, 1882) I, 204, §14. Cf. the discussion by L.Simpson, 'The King Alfred/St Cuthbert Episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: its Significance for Mid Tenth-Century English History', in *St Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner *et al.*, pp. 397-411 at 406.

39) A parallel story can be found in the life of St Neot, who also appeared to Alfred. Neot was said to have been a monk at Glastonbury in the ninth century, under Æthelwold, who later became Bishop of Winchester. The whole story was probably concocted in the early eleventh century; cf. *Annals of St Neots*, ed. Dumville and Lapidge, pp. xciv-xcvi.

40) GP, p. 196.

41) See, e.g. MSD, pp. lxxxiii, n.1; D.Bullough, 'The Educational Tradition in England from Alfred to Ælfric: Teaching *Utriusque Linguae*', *Settimane* 19 (1972), 453-94 at 465: 'semi-derelict monastery of Glastonbury'; and below nn.42 and 43.

42) Robinson, *Times*, p. 82.

43) H.P.R.Finberg, 'St Patrick at Glastonbury', in his *West-Country Historical Essays* (New York, 1969), pp. 70-88 at 76-7.

44) R.Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *EHR* 100 (1985), 247-65. Cf. N.P.Brooks, 'England in the Ninth Century: the Crucible of Defeat', *TRHS* 29 (1979), 1-20 at 14: 'it is possible therefore that the secularization of the monasteries was itself advanced by Viking raids'.

45) Fleming, 'Monastic Lands', p. 251.

46) MSD, pp. 6-7.

47) For the traditional account see Stevenson, ed., *Asser*, pp. 332-34; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 32 ff; Deanesly, *Pre-Conquest Church*, p. 246 ff; C.J.Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1962), p. 283; Symons (ed.), *Regualris Concordia*, p. x.

48) See the comments on this of Keynes 'Introduction', *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, ed. J. Backhouse *et al.* (Ipswich, 1984), pp. 11-16 at 13; and see below pp. 315-16.

49) Examples of monasteries completely destroyed by the Vikings and permanently abandoned, are very few. For views which do not see widespread destruction see P.Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings. Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100* (London, 1982), pp. 96-7 and 104; Blair, 'Minster Churches', p. 117; J.Morrish, 'King Alfred's Letter', in *Studies in Earlier English Prose*, ed. P.Szarmach (New York, 1986), pp. 87-107 (*contra* H.Gnuess, 'Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform', *Settimane* 32 (1986), 643-88 at 672 ff.). See also Morrish, 'Dated and Dateable Manuscripts'.

50) S.Coupland and J.L.Nelson, 'The Vikings on the Continent', *History Today* 38 (1988), 13-19.

51) It is worth noting that almost all of the estates in Somerset left by Alfred to his son Edward, were situated on the north coast; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, p. 176.

52) See ASC A 878; *Æthelweard*, ed. Campbell, p. 42; Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, pp. 18-23; Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred The Great and Æthelred The Unready', *TRHS* (1985), 195-217 at 198.

53) ASC 878 and cf. *Æthelweard*, ed. Campbell, p. 42.

54) One might note that Alfred's move into Somerset need not be seen necessarily as a retreat: he was after all following the Vikings north and Somerset was the place where he could perhaps expect to raise considerable levies. If the Vikings moved into Mercia by a sea-route, as Æthelweard implies, then Alfred might well go to North Somerset perhaps not only to Athelney but also to his estates on the north coast; both to defend and even to harry. It should be remembered that Athelney gave excellent access to the Parrett and the Bristol Channel.

55) *Asser*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 80-1.

56) *ib.*, pp. 14-16. For a different view see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, pp. 56-8.

57) See Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred*, pp. 164 and 306 n. 6, and Wormald, 'The English Origins of English Law'.

58) See J.L.Nelson, '"A King Across the Sea": Alfred in Continental Perspective', *TRHS* (1986), 45-68 at 52-6.

59) Or because it reverted on the death of Æthlred's sons. DA, §§53, 54, pp. 112-15; SS.341 and 399.

60) On appropriations made by Alfred see Fleming, 'Monastic Lands', pp. 250-52.

61) LT 10; and Lists A17, 20; C1, 2; DA, §40, pp. 92-7. For Alfred's Will, S.1507.

62) On Creech see above p. 232. Note also that Glastonbury claimed possession of Montacute from the ninth century; but the estate was owned by Athelney in 1066.

63) Of the list of disputes given by Wormald not one from Glastonbury can be certainly identified: P.Wormald, 'A Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits', *ASE* 17 (1988), 247-81 at 272 n.33, where two possible examples are cited, SS.1705 and 1777. This is striking when compared with records for other houses.

64) For example, S.227; S.236, S.237 were both rewritten after the date to which they purportedly belong.

65) Glastonbury, islands including Bleadney, Brent, Brompton, Butliegh, Crowscombe, Ditcheat (with Lottisham, Hornblotton and Lamyatt), Downhead, Lydford, Mere, W.Monkton, ?Northover/?Ower, Pennard, Pilton (if separate

from Doulting), Polden estates, Uffculme, Braunton (exchanged in 10C), Sowy.

66) See for example, the Polden Estates and those in the 'Doulting' area (Morland, 'Glastonbury Manors', pp. 77-9) On which see Corcos, 'Early Estates'; S.Morland, 'The Saxon Charters for Sowy and Pouholt and the Course of the River Cary', *SDNQ* 31 (1980-5), 233-35; and above §6, pp.231-37.

67) P.Racinet, 'Implantation et Expansion Clunisiennes au Nord-Est du Paris (XIe-XIIe siècles)', *Le Moyen Age* 90 (1984), 5-37; C.B.Bouchard, *Sword, Mitre and Cloister* (Ithaca, 1987), p. 200 f. Cf. W.Davies, *Small Worlds* (London, 1988), pp. 188-90; Smith, 'Culte Impérial'; J-P.Devroey, 'Une Monastère dans L'Économie d'Échanges: les services de transport à l'abbaye Saint-Germain-des Prés au IXe siècle', *Annales* 39 (1984), 570-89; J-P.Devroey, 'Les Services de Transport à L'Abbaye de Prum au IXe Siécle', *Revue du Nord* 61 (1979), 543-69.

68) Cf. S.Raban, *The Estates of Thorney and Crowland* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 8-9; J.A.Raftis, *The Estates of Ramsey Abbey* (Toronto, 1957), p. 7; E.Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 24; E.King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310* (Cambridge, 1973), p. 11 f.

69) Crowland seems to have been an exception and suffered for it; Raban, *Estates*, pp. 9-10.

70) DA §53, pp. 112-13; S.791.

71) See those estates listed by William, DA, §54, 55, 57, 58 etc. Of the considerable endowment in Wiltshire owned by the abbey in 1066, not one estate was owned before c.900. Buckland apart, the same can be said of the Dorset estates.

72) On Evesham cf. A.Williams, '*Princeps Merciorum Gentis*: the Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia', *ASE* 10 (1982), 143-72 at 145-46.

73) Bleadney was claimed by the abbey (S.1253) and possibly by Wells (S.1042). From the mid-tenth century on matters became heated; *Historiola*, ed. Hunter, p. 19.

74) Which might account for the survival of early charters for the monasteries in Kent; Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 201-03.

75) MSD, pp. 6-7.

76) See above §1, p. 41.

77) On the date of Dunstan's birth see L.A.St.L.Toke, 'The Date of Dunstan's Birth', *The Bosworth Psalter*, ed. F.Gasquet and E.Bishop (London, 1908), 131-43; Robinson, *Times*, p. 82.

78) MSD, pp. 7-10.

79) MSD, pp. 10-11.

80) See Thomson, *William*, pp. 11-38.

81) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 40.

82) Scott, p. 201, n.109.

83) DA, §54, pp. 112-15.

84) See above §2, pp. 75 and 77.

85) Conceivably the pictures were on moveable panels; see, for example, Biscop's paintings, P.Meyvaert 'Bede and the Church Paintings at Wearmouth/Jarrow', *ASE*, 8 (1979), 63-77 at 68 f.

86) Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pp. 93-4.

87) DA §54; the charter was recorded as a single-sheet in 1247, *Lists* A8.

88) Cf. Eadred's return of Pucklechurch and Doulting, DA, §57, pp. 118-19; Edgar's return of Marksbury, DA, §62, pp. 128-31; Æthelred II's return of

Pucklechurch DA, §63, pp. 130-31; unspecified lands in Wiltshire, DA, §68, pp. 138-41. In other words, why admit to difficult circumstances?

89) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', pp. 42-3.

90) S.412.

91) Many of Edward's grants that survive are in favour of the Winchester communities; cf. SS.360, 365, 366.

92) On the 'Half King' see C.Hart, 'Athelstan "Half King" and his Family', *ASE* 2 (1973), 115-44; and for his obituary see below, 'Obit List'.

93) MSD, p. lxxvi; Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 43.

94) S.417, for 932, from the Winchester Cartulary.

95) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', p. 43.

96) Cf. Felten, *Äbte*; who argues that this impression of lay abbots is a phenomenon of historiography. This is not to say that Robinson is incorrect, rather that we need not necessarily suppose a lay abbot in this period.

97) *Pillesdone*, *Portbrig* and *Giffeltone* are listed under those estates thought to have been owned once, but no longer held; Lists D6,7,8 (ECW, nos 576, 425, 426).

98) Wrington is S.371, recorded in the LT 41.

99) MSD, §10, pp. 17-18.

100) For her death see Alfordus, *Fides Regia Anglicana*, in *Annales Ecclesiastici et Civiles Britannorum, Saxonum, Anglorum*, ed. M. Alford, 4 vols (Liège, 1663) III, 262 and J.Wilson (de Saint-Omer), *English Martyrologe* (1608), pp. 95-6, who says Æthelflaed died 'about' 936. See below, 'Obit List', no. 11.

101) William, *Vita Dunstani*, MSD, p. 265.

102) Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 445.

103) *Historia Brittonum*, ed. Dumville, pp. 14-15. But see now *Charters of Barking Abbey*, ed. C.Hart (forthcoming), nos. 6 and 7: which suggests that three of the seven archives are from nunneries..

104) *Historia Brittonum*, ed. Dumville, pp. 14-15. Cf. *The Will of Æthelgifu*, ed. D.Whitelock *et al.* (Oxford, 1968), where she shows the fine dividing-line between women in and out of orders. In the case of widows she cites the glossary of Ælfric: *arwurþe wydewe oðde nunne* (pp. 33-4). See the 'masterful matrons' in K.Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in Early Medieval Society. Ottonian Saxony* (London, 1979), pp. 63-72; S.F.Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1981), esp. at p. 163; J.L.Nelson, 'Les Femmes et L'Évangélisation au IXe siècle', *Revue du Nord* 68 (1988), 470-83.

105) M.Meyer, 'Women and the Tenth Century English Monastic Reform', RS 87 (1977), 34-61 at 38 and 46-7. Meyer cites Osbern (MSD, p. 87), as evidence that Æthelflaed left a will in Dunstan's favour. I cannot see this at all.

106) S.1123 for 1049.

107) J.H.Round, 'Text of the Worcester Domesday', in *VCH Worcestershire*, ed. J.Willis-Bund (London, 1901), pp. 282-323 at 295 and cf. 294.

108) Green, 'Dunstan', p. 44; MSD (§9), pp. 16-17.

109) MSD, §10, pp. 17-18.

110) In two of the three MSS of c.1000, he is called *magister*. In London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B.13 he is called *minister*; perhaps through an incorrect expansion of m̄. On the MSS see Stubbs, MSD, pp. xxvi-xxx.

111) Finberg, 'St Patrick', p. 77.

112) MSD, §10, pp. 17-18.

113) Cf. the case of Æthelflaed of Romsey who lavishly entertained; *Nova Legenda Angliae*, ed. K.Horstmann, 2 vols (Oxford, 1901) I, 379 ff.

114) *Praevisores*. On the visits of an itinerant king see T.Charles-Edwards, 'Early Medieval Kingships in the British Isles', in *The Origins*, ed. Bassett, pp. 28-39 at 28-33.

115) *Chronicon*, ed. Stevenson I, 88; Thacker, 'Abingdon', p. 46.

116) On the evidence see M.Wood, 'The Making of King Athelstan's Empire: an English Charlemagne?', *Ideal and Reality*, ed. Wormald *et al.*, pp. 250-72 at 253-55 and below n.129.

117) GR I, 157; Wood, 'The Making', p. 254

118) D.Rollason, 'Relic-Cults as an Instrument of Royal policy c.900 - c.1050', *ASE* 15 (1986), 91-103 at 92.

119) MSD, §3, p. 6; cf. the remarkably similar passage in Wulfstan's *Life of Æthelwold* (§17, ed. Winterbottom, p. 48), *Nec solum in finibus occidentalium Saxonum uerum etiam in remotis Britannie partibus....Est enim quedam regio famosa in prouincia orientalium Anglorum sita, paludibus et aequis in modum insulae circumducta,.....*

120) See §8, p. 336.

121) DA §54, pp. 112-15; Robinson, *Times*, p. 78; S.Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 142-202 at 144.

122) Cf. the Exeter OE relic list inserted into the MS 'Leofric's Gospel-Books', Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Auct. D.2.16; printed M.Förster, *Zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultus in Altengland* (Munich, 1943), pp. 63-114 and translated M.Swanton, *Anglo-Saxon Prose* (London, revised edn 1985), pp. 14-19. The Bath list from a fly-leaf of a Gospel Book is printed, *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St Peter at Bath*, ed. W.Hunt, SRS 7 (1893), pp. Lxxv-lxxvi

123) DA §56, pp. 116-19; Robinson, *Times*, p. 76. Note the case of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 42, a Worcester MS, which has in a *s.xii* hand the inscription *Liber Sancti Dunstani*; Hunt, *Classbook*, p. xvi.

124) See I.G.Thomas, 'The Cult of Saints' Relics in Mediaeval England', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of London, 1974), pp. 169-87. On the date of JGI see *Chronicle of Glastonbury*, ed. Carley, pp. xxv-xxx; Athelstan's relics are recorded by John in §60, pp. 112-15 at 114.

125) Printed in *Johannis, Confratris et Monachi Glastoniensis, Chronica sive Historia de Rebus Glastoniensibus*, ed. T.Hearne, 2 vols (Oxford, 1726) II, 445-54 and Thomas, 'The Cult', pp. 486-515.

126) Thomas, 'The Cult', p. 184.

127) Rollason, 'Relic-Cults', pp. 94-5; cf. Pearce, 'The Dating', pp. 95-7.

128) G.H.Doble, 'The Celtic Saints in the Glastonbury Relic Lists', *SDNQ* 24 (1943-6), 86-9 at 87.

129) *ib.* There is also a clear similarity in the wording of the opening dedication of the Exeter list with that recorded in the Titus list, both attributing the relics to the generosity of Athelstan. See *Leofric Missal*, ed. F.E.Warren (Oxford, 1883), p. 3 and Thomas, 'The Relics', p. 486.

130) Cf. Robinson, *Bishops*, pp. 12-14; Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', pp. 25-6 and 42-3. Cf. Keynes, 'Athelstan's Books', p. 185, for the possibility of an origin at Wells. See also D.Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex: the Evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183', in *St Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner *et al.* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 413-24. On the Glastonbury scriptorium in this period see J.Higgit, 'Glastonbury, Dunstan, Monasticism and Mauscripts', *Art History* 2 (1979), 275-90.

131) Dumville, 'Anglian Collection', pp. 26-8.

132) It is difficult to show that any one community received more than one

grant from Athelstan. Exeter claimed five, all of which are suspect; as are the four for Worcester. Malmesbury may have benefitted the most.

134) It might also reflect the better preservation of sources from the tenth century and possibly the fact that kings no longer had the lands to give away.

135) DA §54, pp. 112-15; See below 'Obit List', no. 22.

136) See Robinson, *Bishops*; Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 216-22.

137) Significantly the two charters are adjacent in the LT, 51 and 52.

138) LT 36: *Ethelstan de Stoke dat' Ælfrico. S. qui G.*

139) So ECW, no. 430.

140) See above §1, p. 21.

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Tenth Century

In the previous chapter I argued that there was a considerable degree of continuity in the history of the monastery from the late ninth century to the early tenth century, not only in its landed endowment but also in the community itself. Such is the nature of the evidence that rarely can this development be seen except at a superficial level: little can be gleaned of the non-royal and local patrons. Yet a degree of continuity in the estates of the abbey implies a degree of continuity in the patrons. It was after all in these patrons' interest to maintain a community where perhaps their ancestors were buried and where regular intercessions were made on their behalf. Underlying the loss and gain of lands, was a basic continuity dependent on the patrons. In the tenth century it is possible to see who were the leading non-royal patrons and the extent to which they patronised the abbey.

Much of the history of Glastonbury in the tenth century, however, can be learned only indirectly through the activities of its most famous abbot, Dunstan, and the kings, Edmund, Eadred and Edgar; correspondingly modern historians have concentrated on the relationship between Dunstan and these kings. Glastonbury, whilst seen to be important as the first reformed monastery, has stood in the background. In this chapter I shall follow earlier studies and review the evidence for the kings' relationship with Glastonbury but with a view to establishing the nature of the community itself, its involvement with local families, the extent to which it was

reformed, its activity in the production of charters, and above all its promotion of its own image as an ancient monastery with a long-standing association with the West Saxon kings.

8.1 The Community, Dunstan and Reform

It is difficult to characterize the nature of the community in terms of absolutes: monastic or clerical[1]. Distinctions between communities depend upon definition; and it is clear that monastic writers after the tenth-century reform wished to stress the difference between the new monasticism and the old[2]. Hence monks were reformed and clerks were not; and hence the belief that monasticism was extinct was not necessarily because there were no monasteries but because none of the reformers felt them to be 'true' monasteries[3]. This is made explicit by Æthelwold in his OE introduction to the Rule: 'there were only a few monks in a few places in so large a kingdom who lived by the right Rule'[4]. Thus it was the period of reform which defined the terms of the monastic writers and to a large extent modern views of the pre-reform communities[5].

For the modern historian the problem of definition has in turn been seen as one of intention[6]; whether the community followed a strictly contemplative life or whether they served society at large. The work of Constable[7] and Brooke[8] has, however, shown that in practice such distinctions are harder to perceive, for there are fundamental ambiguities in the relation between monastic communities and, on the one hand, pastoral work[9] and, on the other, property ownership. Even at the reformed monastery at Worcester in the tenth century property was not all held in common and not all the community were described as monks[10].

Where the history of monastic reform can be seen as a series of cycles, of decline and growth, this can belie underlying continuity in the community and in the network of patronage upon which it relied for its existence[11]. The history of the community at Glastonbury has been seen in these terms: decline - in the late ninth century and early tenth century - and reform from the 940s; the decline has been taken to presuppose an earlier period of prosperity. To use the reformers' terms, Glastonbury was a community of monks before falling into decline in the ninth century and into the hands of the king where it continued as a community of clerks, possibly under a lay-abbot, before returning to a monastic community under Dunstan. This account[12] can be challenged on both general and specific grounds.

The wider picture of the supposed decline of monasticism depends upon two questionable assumptions, the destruction or collapse of the religious life and the advent of lay abbots which heralded the 'secularization' of monasteries and reflected the increased *saecularium prioratus*. But the destruction of monasteries was not so widespread as monastic reformers would suggest[13] - and as I have suggested, need not have been the case for Glastonbury; Felten has argued that lay-abbots were by no means a bad thing[14]; and recently, Nightingale has shown, from the evidence of Lotharingian monasteries, that the depredations of laymen are a feature of both pre- and post reform communities[15]. Significantly, Nightingale has argued that reform did not affect the underlying tenurial relationships between monastery and the community at large. John's thesis, that reform was intended to break the *saecularium prioratus*[16] and as a consequence led to an anti-monastic reaction[17], may thus be questioned or at least modified.

The lack of evidence for tenurial relationships in England, before and after reform, hampers a study comparable to that of Nightingale. At Glastonbury, this continuity might be inferred from the patronage of the families of Ælfhere and Athelstan 'Half King', understandable if their families had had an interest in Glastonbury before c.940 (the putative date of reform)[18]. It does seem clear, at any rate, that there was no anti-monastic reaction as such; that one man might seize the estates of one community and be an active patron of another. Again, for Glastonbury, Ælfhere is a case in point[19]. It would then follow that the period of reform did not necessarily break the interests of local lords as John suggests it did.

A corner-stone of the argument for underlying continuity concerns the nature of the community. Unfortunately, there are no witness-lists comparable to those of Christ Church, Worcester or to the Lotharingian ones used by Nightingale, with which to trace the character and development of the community at Glastonbury[20]. What little evidence there is will be considered below. It is enough, I think, to suggest an active community from the seventh to the tenth century.

For the period prior to the tenth century there is evidence from two charters dated 678 and 681 that a rule was adhered to, but in neither case can the evidence be trusted[21]. More certain is the evidence to be found in a charter of 744[22] where the witnesses include the names of one abbot, four priests and one *praepositus* which might suggest a small community of secular clergy perhaps similar to that at Christ Church Canterbury which also consisted of an abbot, priests (and deacons) and *prepositi*[23].

The nature of property-holding is important. There is no evidence that members of the community held land individually, but this is not evidence

that they did not, and analogies with other secular communities would suggest that it was likely that they did[24]. There is, however, some evidence that the *mensa* was divided at Glastonbury. William records a transaction where Abbot Guthlac sold land at *Brunham* to Eanwulf for 500 *solidi*, 200 for the abbot and 300 for the monks*25*. The transaction is only recorded in the DA, that is at a time when the divided *mensa* was the norm, but it is difficult to attribute to William, or any other forger, the precise details given in the transaction.

Brooks has argued that the *mensa* at Christ Church was divided in the late eighth century and that it might date from St Augustine's original mission[26]. But the evidence for a division at Glastonbury is ambiguous, for it is not clear whether it reveals a *de facto* separation reflecting secularization[27] under Abbot Guthac, or whether it shows a more formal arrangement which was the result of reform - such as that at Canterbury.

The evidence for the nature of the community in the tenth century before Dunstan's abbacy comes from B. The clearest evidence is that relating to Dunstan receiving the tonsure of a cleric; his parents *dignam sibi clericatus inposuere tonsuram officii inque famoso Glestoniensis aecclesiae sociauerunt coenobio*[28]. Other evidence is more ambiguous, such as the description of Dunstan's *praelatus* as a *diaconus* - which the Worcester witness-lists reveal to be a term used by reformed communities[29]. The evidence, difficult as it is, suggests a community of *clerici* at Glastonbury in the eighth century; and there is no evidence that they were not there in the tenth century. In view of the other arguments presented for continuity, it is plausible that the community continued to exist between the two periods but perhaps interrupted by 'cycles of reform'[30].

Reform

It is a moot point as to how far Glastonbury was reformed in the tenth century. B wished his readers to believe that when Dunstan was appointed as abbot he undertook to reform the monastery at Glastonbury, following the rule of St Benedict and building a magnificent new church as well as monastic buildings[31]. We have only B's word for this, which stands in contrast to the lack elsewhere of corroborative evidence.

This lack of evidence linking Dunstan with reform has long been noted[32], although only recently it has been suggested by Foot[33] that there is no evidence to prove Dunstan played a part in reforming Glastonbury. Primarily her case depends upon the vagueness of B's statement about Dunstan's activities at Glastonbury: *saluberrimam sancti Benedicti sequens institutionem, primus abbas Anglicae nationis enituit*[34]. B also refers to the *praepositus*[35] Wulfric who was appointed so that neither Dunstan nor the brethren need leave the monastery, which echoes the similar provision in the *Rule of St Benedict*[36], but it is obvious from the 'Life' that Dunstan was not so confined to his monastery. It is remarkable, given that B stayed at Glastonbury under Dunstan, that he has so little to say about the reform either at Glastonbury or later[37].

More indirect evidence comes from the OE tract by Æthelwold and from that prelate's two biographers. Æthelwold states that before the time of Edgar there were monks only at Glastonbury. This account cannot be dated more precisely than before the death of Æthelwold 984, but it is nevertheless an important witness[38]. Symons was aware in his study of the reform that Æthelwold's biographers described how he left Glastonbury to seek a stricter life abroad. Symons concluded that monasticism at Glastonbury was not perfect, if by perfect 'is meant the introduction of

those accretions to observance of the Rule already current abroad.'[39]. What Symons meant, I think, was that Glastonbury's rule was distinct from those of Æthelwold, Ghent and Fleury (themselves very different from one another), of which elements were used in the *Regularis Concordia*[40]. But as Wormald[41] has made clear, this raises the question of how reform should be defined; whether indeed Æthelwold's reform was one thing and Dunstan's quite another.

B makes no mention of the expulsion of clerks from Glastonbury (or Christ Church) that might have been expected had Glastonbury been reformed under Dunstan[42]. It is possible that a Rule like Æthelwold's was introduced gradually, or at least partially as at Christ Church[43]. There is one interesting episode in the Life of Dunstan which might suggest just this: the saint dreamed of an anthem which on waking he wrote down and gave to a monk, and later taught it to *universos sibi subjectos tam monachos quam etiam clericos*[44]. Whilst Knowles[45] cited this as evidence of the community at Christ Church, Brooks[46] has argued that the position of the story after Dunstan's elevation to Canterbury is not evidence that it relates to that place since it begins a series of visions that largely relate to Glastonbury. Hence like Worcester, Glastonbury was a mixed community.

There are several strands to the argument for reform in the tenth century. One implication of the development in learning, especially in 'hermenuetic' Latin, is that it owed its origins in part to centres of learning in north-eastern France associated with reform[47]. Oda, Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald, all had continental connections with reformed monasteries[48]. A second implication concerns the development of new buildings and the acquisition of new estates which accompanied reform[49].

But while cultural revivals have been linked to monastic reform, the one does not necessarily imply the other. Similarly, Æthelwold's reforms did clearly involve building up the reformed communities, but growth in itself is not an indication of reform[50].

One of the significant contrasts between Dunstan and Æthelwold lies in the development of the so-called 'monastic connections', which Knowles has mapped[51]. John remarked on the limited nature of Glastonbury's connections when compared with those of Æthelwold and Oswald[52]. B says only that Dunstan was, *in amore Dei..semper accensus, et propterea loca sacrorum coenobium ob animarum aedificationem circuibat sollicitus*[53]. Of the evidence connecting a number of monasteries with Dunstan only that for Bath is convincing[54]. For Bath (alone), there is the testimony of B. He describes an occasion when Dunstan went to visit the community at Bath, and the *praepositus* of Glastonbury came to take counsel with him on the affairs of his brothers as was his custom[55]. One striking feature of this life is B's lack of knowledge of events after Dunstan's exile in 957 and it may be that B is referring to a custom which dates back to Dunstan's abbacy[56], in which case it would seem that Dunstan had some control over the monastery at Bath before the main period of reform under Edgar in the 960s. Indeed, if Dunstan received the monastery from Edmund, as he acquired Glastonbury, then he was in charge of a community which had rejected the reforms of John of Gorze[57]; that is, a movement which called for reforms in monastic estate management. The lack of apparent reform at Christ Church and Glastonbury is important, for it suggests that Dunstan was not interested in reforming other communities[58].

Finally, it should be observed that Symons' belief that Edgar would not have appointed an archbishop who was inimical to reform, can be

questioned[59]. The example of the estates at Sunbury and Send makes it clear that relations were not always easy between king and archbishop[60]. Indeed, following recent work, particularly of Wormald, the importance of reform to the king should be revised[61]. This is not to say that Edgar would have gained no advantage from reform, but rather that the king had other interests to consider; and that Dunstan and Æthelwold may have represented two different views.

8.2 Papal Privilege

Was Glastonbury reformed after Dunstan's abbacy? The wider reform of English monasticism began according to the ASC A 964 with expulsion of clerks from Winchester, Chertsey and Milton Abbas[62]. It may be that Glastonbury was also affected, but there is no record of this. William describes in the DA a grant of land made for the use of the monks serving the Rule in Edgar's reign, this is evidently William's own interpretation: but the charter in question (S.764) has *ad usus monachorum inhibi degencium*[63].

The abbey archives preserve a privilege of a Pope John which states that Edgar and Archbishop Dunstan *acti amore superni regis, in melius restaurarunt et monachorum ibi maiorem numerum aggregantes normamque arciorem instituentes, precepto regali firmauerant*[64]. The privilege also allowed the monks freedom to elect their own head and to chose a bishop, from the province of Canterbury, to ordain monks and clerks[65]. If this document were genuine it would be important evidence for the development of the community at Glastonbury. Unfortunately, exploitation of the privilege as evidence is hampered by almost insuperable problems.

The privilege has been variously described as probably genuine, a forgery and dubious[66]. As with so many of the Glastonbury documents the privilege survives only in a late and corrupted text. Zimmermann in his recent edition of the document argued that the papal privilege, like the infamous royal privilege of Edgar to Glastonbury to which it refers, should be rejected as a forgery[67]. It would be a mistake, however, to judge the one by the faults of the other, since it is probably William who has brought the two texts together in his DA and tried to relate the two. All the privileges in the DA preserve certain elements in common, whether of form or content, and to some extent they may have been written or rewritten as a group[68]. The privilege of Pope John, for example, prohibits entry to the island of Glastonbury and gives the right of holding pleas (*placita*) to the abbot, *ut nulli omnino hominum eandem insulam placitandi causa uel aliquid aliud ibi perscrutandi aut corrigendi intrare liceat.* This is in agreement with the privilege of Edgar which is an eleventh- or twelfth-century fabrication. The same phrase with only slight variations may be found in the privileges of Edmund and Cnut[69].

Two versions survive, one in the DA, the other in the GR. They differ in two significant respects, which suggest that the DA version was adapted from that of the GR. Edgar and Dunstan impelled out of love for Glastonbury,

DA	GR
in melius restaurarunt et monachorum ibi maiorem numerum aggregantes normamque arciorem instituentes...firmauerant.	*in multis et magnis possessionibus ditaverant, monachorum inibi mulitiplicantes normam... firmauerant.*

The privilege also granted that the monks could appoint a *pastor* from among themselves and,

DA	GR
se suosque, quos idoneos iudicauerint, quocumque in Dobornensi diocesi placuerit ad ordinandum dirigant.	*Ordinatio uero tam monachorum qua clericorum in arbitrio abbatis et conventus sit.*

William's own method of editing texts, of changing a word for another with a similar meaning, could account for some of the variation, but not, I think the reference to the province of Canterbury.

The B recensions of the GR give a narrative account of the charter of Edgar, stating that this was sent to Pope John who succeeded Octavian (John XII) and hence he must be John XIII[70]. The Pope then issued the privilege which was confirmed by the king at a council in London in the 12th year of his reign, given as 965[71]. The C recension has much the same but adds that the papal confirmation took place in the 14th indiction in 965. The DA, however, gives first the royal privilege which is dated to 971 in the 14th indiction, followed by a clause stating that the privilege was confirmed by John VIII. The privilege follows and is dated to 965, being confirmed by the king in the 12th year of his reign. Clearly there is considerable confusion between the texts. The error is consistently made of dating the 12th year of Edgar's reign to 965, when 971 (or possibly 969) is correct[72]. Furthermore the 14th indiction corresponds to 971 and not 965.

The evidence of another papal charter must be admitted. Pope John XIII issued to Mont-St-Michel in 965 a privilege which in all but a few details is identical with the Glastonbury document[73]. The earliest MS is from a cartulary text of the twelfth century[74]. Now this might be taken to be good

evidence that both documents independently employed diplomatic formulae of the papal chancery and were not fabricated. But no other papal documents use the same formulae. In particular, the *intitulatio* employs the word *ego (Johannes)*, which appears in only nine of over 600 documents recorded by Zimmermann[75]. Of these all but one are regarded as dubious or forgeries[76].

The similarities of the privileges go further than the diplomatic. Both papal privileges have survived with royal privileges; that of St-Michel with a charter of Lothar, king of West Frankia, of 7th Feb 966. The privilege of St-Michel is followed by this confirmation: *Hanc igitur iam dictus rex Lotharius sacro scripto Launduni confirmauit XII anno regni sui, qui fuit nongentesimus et sexagesimus quintus dominice incarnationis, quo eciam anno similiter auctorata sunt Rome, ut dictum est, ab eodem papa in sinodo generali*[77].

The C recension of the GR gives this after Edgar's privilege; *Hanc priuilegii paginam prædictus rex Edgarus, duodecimo anno regni sui, sacro scripto apud Londoniam communi consilio optimatum suorum confirmauit. Eodemque anno, qui fuit nongentesimus sexagesimus quintus Dominicae incarnationis, indictione quarta decima, papa Johannes hanc ipsam paginam Romæ in generali synodo auctorizauit*[78] It is difficult to believe that independently these two privileges could have used such similar phrasing, in particular the 'twelfth year of the reign', the 'general synod' and the 'holy writing'.

The papal privilege for St-Michel has been discussed and rejected as a forgery by Halphen and Lot who considered that it did, however, accompany a genuine privilege of Lothar's[79]. Lemarignier further suggested that the interpolation and forgery took place in the period 1058-60 when there was a disputed abbatial succession[80]. The dating of Lothar's privilege to the

12th year of his reign (966)[81] agrees with that in his charter although some error may have been made in the clause above where 965 is given. This is, at least, more consistent than the dating of the Glastonbury charter, which can be reconciled only with some difficulty with that of the privilege. Thus it may be that the Glastonbury text was copied from that of Mont-St-Michel. But it should be noted that the Mont-St-Michel text agrees with that of the DA against the GR. If it is supposed that the latter represents an earlier text than the cartulary of Mont-St-Michel, then the influence might have been in the other direction.

When or how this might have been accomplished must remain speculative. If the Glastonbury text was copied from the Mont-St-Michel privilege then this must have been done between c.1060 and c.1135 (the date of the DA). The monastery at Mont-St-Michel had considerable contacts in England, owning certainly by 1150 and probably by 1066 at least one property in Somerset[82]. Of course the period towards the end of the eleventh century saw numerous contacts between England and northern France. During the period 1060-1135 successive abbots of Glastonbury came from Caen (2), Sées and Blois[83]. It is perhaps worth noting that a necrology from St-Michel preserves the obit of one Turstin, abbot, on March 12. The editors of the text were unable to identify him as abbot of any continental monastery suggesting the possiblity that he came from England[84]. An Abbot Thurstan of Caen was Abbot of Glastonbury c.1078 - c.1096 and died on March 11[85]. If these men are one and the same it is possible that Thurstan or the community at Glastonbury had entered into some confraternal agreement with Mont-St-Michel[86].

A context for the forgery might be sought in the dispute between Glastonbury and Wells that probably began with the appointment of Giso as

Bishop in c.1060[87]. Giso wished to assert the rights of the church at Wells over both land and people. To this end he secured several grants of new or restituted land and he obtained, together with his pallium, a privilege from Pope Nicholas II granting 'all things which legally pertained' to the church of Wells[88]. This can only have been a pointed reminder to the abbey of Glastonbury with which Wells was disputing jurisdiction and land. The DA preserves the record of a council at which Thurstan sided with the abbot of Muchelney against Giso; in his defence Thurstan recited the privileges of Kings Centwine and Ine to Edward, by which it was affirmed that no one but the abbot of Glastonbury had jurisdiction over the abbots of Muchelney and Athelney[89]. This was possibly the time at which the privileges of Edgar and Ine were forged since both are concerned with the conflict with Wells and hence possibly at this time or soon after, the abbey acquired through some means the privilege of Pope John[90].

It is worth pointing out that the documents convey privileges that are not out of keeping with the times to which they purport to belong. Both in England and on the continent, kings attempted to secure papal protection for monasteries and this despite the fact that in England many of the bishops from whom exemption was sought were themselves monks[91]. Furthermore, Dunstan himself had gone to Rome in 960 to receive the pallium from John XII and it is possible that he then asked for a papal privilege[92]. He may also have been responsible for acquiring the papal privilege for the Old Minster Winchester, which Vollrath would date to 967, and for calling a *generale concilium*, in 967x969[93]. As a context it is striking that the Glastonbury privilege should belong to this period of communication with the papacy 961x67; and that Dunstan should be so involved. Yet more significant is the letter of a Pope John to Ealdorman

Ælfric on behalf of Glastonbury, for this letter presupposes that Glastonbury was under papal protection: that it had already obtained a privilege[94]. Such letters of protection were also issued in this period in favour of Cluny, which already had a privilege granting it papal exemption[95].

The evidence is thus complex. On the one hand the privilege does not conform to other privileges of Pope John XIII, or indeed of any other pope. Uniformity should not necessarily be assumed but it is striking how different the Glastonbury privilege is. On the other hand the letter to Ælfric, and the contact between the papacy and England, and especially with Dunstan, suggests that Glastonbury did receive a papal privilege in the tenth century.

Circumstantial evidence may have prompted a forger to choose this period, precisely because of the known contacts; hence the dubious privileges of John XII for St Augustine's and for Westminster[96]. But both used genuine papal charters of John XII[97] and are considerably more elaborate in their claims particularly of antiquity for the house concerned[98]. Moreover, in Glastonbury's case the letter to Ælfric is not circumstantial: it is evidence of some papal undertaking to protect the monastery. What must remain uncertain is the date of the original appeal to the pope.

There is, then, evidence to suggest that Glastonbury did obtain papal protection. If Dunstan secured the privilege for Glastonbury he was concerned to establish his continued interest in the monastery and by excluding the local bishop, strengthening his own ability to interfere in its affairs[99]. If Dunstan did not obtain a privilege then it is possible that the community acquired one to exclude Dunstan, after his elevation. By

contrast the letter to Ælfric reflects a period when the abbey could no longer rely on the support of the king and the leading ecclesiastic[100].

With regard to reform at Glastonbury the privilege, given the difficulties with the text, cannot be used as evidence. Indeed, even if it is accepted, the evidence is ambiguous, for the GR version speaks of the election of monks and clerks to monastic office. A papal privilege does, however, imply several things. First, that the papacy was prepared to protect the monastery and in so doing to uphold certain rights. In the case of Cluny these rights were immunity from certain taxes and from outside interference[101]. Episcopal exemption came later. Secondly, the privilege involved the support of the king, who might grant his own privilege, or confirmation, to accompany that of the pope[102]. Thus whilst Glastonbury's privileges, papal and royal, cannot be accepted as genuine, the abbey had the support of the king; and this despite the fact that Glastonbury may not have been reformed. Cluny's privileges made reform possible but reform was not a consequence of the privilege.

8.3 Cults at Glastonbury

Relic-cults and relic-collections were an important part of tenth-century monasticism. Rollason has shown that they formed an 'integral component of the monastic reformation of that century'[103]. The acquisition or appropriation and translation of relics can be seen in relation to almost all the reformed monasteries and in particular it can be linked directly to the activities of the great reformers themselves; Oswald acquired relics for Worcester, Ramsey and Peterborough and Æthelwold for Abingdon, Chertsey, Ely, Thorney and Winchester[104]. Several plausible

reasons have been suggested for this link between reformers and relic-cults. Reform involved in many cases a revival of the local saints of a house providing a tangible link with the pre-Viking age: the cults of such saints 'could recall the past glories of a stricter and more observant age'[105]. Just as important the reformers 'sought to reinforce their claims to be spiritual leaders of late Anglo-Saxon England by presenting themselves as promoters of the cults of saints and guardians of their relics'[106]. By concentrating relics they centralised the power of the cults into their own hands.

It is then all the more remarkable that, as Robinson perceived, 'Dunstan himself is not among the donors of relics'[107]. The contrast is the greater when it is remembered that Dunstan's tenth-century predecessors in the see of Canterbury, Plegmund and Oda, were givers of relics[108]. There is also little evidence that Dunstan bestowed any relics upon the houses that he is supposed to have reformed; Glastonbury, Bath, Westminster, and Malmesbury. Robinson attempted to fill the silence when he suggested that Dunstan may have had some of King Athelstan's treasury of relics at his disposal; and hence the claims of Westminster, Exeter and Glastonbury to possess relics given by Athelstan[109]. But in these (often late) monastic claims to have received relics in the tenth century, Dunstan is not mentioned as mediator. This is surprising given the stress by medieval historians on his role as reformer, particularly at Glastonbury and Westminster[110].

Glastonbury almost certainly did receive relics in the tenth century. The 'List of Saints' Resting Places' names Patrick, Aidan and *fela oðra sancta*[111]. Unfortunately the 'many other saints' are not named, but the later mid-twelfth century list of Hugh Candidus names Patrick and Ceolfrid

(or Sefrid)[112], whilst Gaimar's list has Benignus and Indracht[113]. Both texts were based on lost, presumably OE, lists of saints' resting places[114]. The calendar in the Leofric Missal names both Patrick and Aidan[115]; that in the Bosworth Psalter has Patrick and Ceolfrith, at Glastonbury[116]. The Old English Martyrology says that part of Aidan's body was at Glastonbury and part in Scotland[117]. Other relics at Glastonbury in the tenth century might have included those of David, and possibly Hilda[118].

In contrast to our lack of information regarding Dunstan, the DA records that in the early eleventh century Bishop Brihtwold adorned the shrines, which contained the relics, of Guthlac, Oswald and George[119]. The B life is witness to the existence of the chapel of St George in the mid-tenth century when Dunstan was found there praying[120]. The DA preserves an inscription on the shrines (*scrinia*) of Guthlac, Oswald and George. The inscription is likely to have been copied by William, given his interest in recording inscriptions[121]. It may also date from the tenth or eleventh century since it employs two Greek words which have been associated with the 'hermeneutic' style of Latin; *onoma* and *archon*[122].

Non-royal laymen and women were to some extent responsible for acquiring and translating relics[123]. Ealdorman Ælfhere moved the uncorrupted body of Edward to Shaftesbury[124]. Ealdorman Æthelweard was said to have acquired the relics of Eadburga for the foundation of Pershore[125] and Ealdorman Æthelmaer translated the relics of the hermit Edwold to Cerne[126]. In an interpolated chapter in the DA Ælfswith (possibly the wife of Ælfheah)[127] is described as having obtained the relics of David from a kinsman of hers in Wales, in the time of Edgar, and of having moved them to Glastonbury[128]. This story does at least give a possible context for the

removal of the relics to Glastonbury and is plausible given Edgar's claims to be ruler of the whole of Britain[129]. David was certainly associated with Glastonbury by c.1095 when Rhigyfarch wrote his life of the saint[130] and by c.1135 when William wrote his DA. His feast day was recorded in an addition to the Glastonbury calendar in the Leofric Missal, in the late tenth or early eleventh century using the name-form *Dewi*[131].

There are two exceptions to the silence of the sources concerning Dunstan as a relic collector. The first is in the Life of Edith which was written by Goscelin at the end of the eleventh century[132]. The *Vita* frequently mentions both Æthelwold and Dunstan and the latter is said to have translated the body of Edith 13 years after her death in c.984. Dunstan died in 988. It is possible that Goscelin was mistaken about the death of Edith but more likely that he attributed the translation to the wrong prelate[133].

The second episode is given by William in his life of Aldhelm where he describes how Dunstan, in the time of Edgar, expelled the clerks established by Eadwig and appointed Ælfric as the first abbot[134]. He was also said to have translated the bones of Aldhelm from the chapel of St Martin to the church of St Mary (as it was now called). The new shrine, built on the right of the altar, was inscribed with verses, which according to William, told of the coming ravages of the Danes at Malmesbury. It is uncharacteristic of William that he does not quote directly from the verses. By contrast he records two distichs said to have been inscribed by Dunstan on his gifts of an organ and a water cup[135]. The content of the verses on the shrine rather suggests that a later attempt was made to explain why the bones had been translated, and Dunstan's foresight was

invoked for this purpose[136]. Thus only William's unsatisfactory account connects Dunstan with the translation of Aldhelm's relics.

It is surprising that this Malmesbury evidence stands alone. There is none, as one might expect, for Glastonbury. Evidence for Dunstan's direct interest in local and English (or Celtic) saints is missing[137]. But it would be anachronistic to think that Dunstan had no interest in cults: Abbo tells us that it was from Dunstan that he had learned the story of St Edmund[138] and B described Dunstan's devotion to St Mary[139]. It was probably in the reign of Edmund that the first references to the church of St Mary at Glastonbury appear; there may well have been a chapel so dedicated previously but it was from this point that the main church was dedicated to Mary, by whose name the monastery as a whole was known[140]. This was part of the wider resurgence of interest in the cult of Mary in the period of the tenth-century reform[141].

The only evidence, however, which explicitly links Dunstan with the dedication of a new church is that given by B: Dunstan ordered a church (*ecclesia*) to be built - to the west of the main church - as a small light (*in modum facunculi*) and he consecrated it in honour of John the Baptist[142]. It would be interesting to know why Dunstan dedicated the church to this saint. Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*, which Dunstan knew[143], would have reminded him that John the Baptist whilst 'regulating the first principles of the primitive church' also upheld the value of chastity 'reproving the the forbidden nuptials of the king's (Herod's) marriage and putting a check on the polluted cohabitation of a reeking union..'[144]. To some extent the Lives of Dunstan promoted this same image: Dunstan was to B *primus abbas* and aware of Eadwig's shameful behaviour with the *lupae* at his coronation feast[145]; Osbern saw Dunstan rebuking Edgar for violating a nun

at Wilton[146]. The images of Dunstan certainly developed in the eleventh century and thereafter, and Osbern and William knowing Dunstan had some interest in John the Baptist could then have coloured their biographies. But B knew Dunstan personally and his account would suggest that Dunstan's behaviour did imitate that of a favoured saint.

The translations of relics and revival of local cults were necessary elements in the revival of monasteries and especially of those which had allegedly been destroyed by the Danes: hence Æthelwold's interest[147]. Similar interest can be found in the west Midlands and in Wessex. Much of this might be accounted for by the work of Oswald and Æthelwold. By contrast perhaps those monasteries which were well established, or at least thriving, needed least assistance from such cults. It is notable that those relics Glastonbury did receive in the tenth century were gifts *to* the abbey and not, as far as we know, the result of the activities of acquisitive abbots[148]. Dunstan's apparent lack of interest in the promotion of local cults at Glastonbury can be taken as evidence of his lack of interest in reform.

The connection between troubled circumstances and the promotion of cults is made clear. When Edgar died he was buried at Glastonbury[149]. Yet only later, according to William, was he moved to a more elaborate tomb - when an attempt was being made to create a cult for that king in the period when Glastonbury suffered some difficulty following the political impact of the Danish raids in the early eleventh century[150]. Again the only evidence for the translation of a 'local' saint comes after the disruption of the Norman conquest when, during the turbulent abbacy of Thurstan, the bones of Benignus were moved from the nearby island of Meare into the monastery[151].

8.4 Writing History

If the cults and relics at Glastonbury in the tenth century do not demonstrate that same interest taken by Dunstan, as by Æthelwold or Oswald, they do show the extent to which kings were patrons of the abbey. Of course, Dunstan may have had an indirect interest: he was abbot when Edmund made his gifts and may have retained an interest in Glastonbury when Edgar gave relics.

Glastonbury writers from the time of William of Malmesbury claimed that many relics of Northumbrian saints were translated to Glastonbury. In his GR and GP William states that the bones of Aidan, Ceolfrid and Hilda were translated to Glastonbury[152]. In the former he says the translation occurred during the period of Danish devastation (*deinde Danicae tempore uastationis*), in the latter, during the reign of Edmund[153]. The relics listed are all those of people mentioned in Bede's HE which may have inspired a Glastonbury claim to possess Bedan relics sometime in or after the twelfth century[154]. It is, however, quite possible that Edmund did translate the relics of Ceolfrid, Aidan and possibly Hilda in the tenth century. This would be understandable in the context of reform in that the relics are of those from the period of the 'Golden Age' of monasticism. But the translation is mentioned, not in connection with any ecclesiastic, but only with Edmund whose sympathy towards reform may be questioned[155]. The translation can be explained better in terms of West Saxon attempts to assert control over the north[156].

An important function of the relics and cults at Glastonbury was to support the monastery's claims to ancient origins. The reformed monasteries could claim an ancient authority by promoting the cults of Bedan saints and by citing the authority of Bede himself[157]. Glastonbury, however, did not

have the testimony of Bede to support it. Yet in the tenth century it managed to attract the patronage of kings and to compete with Winchester and Christ Church for royal favour. Where Brooks has described the history of tenth-century Christ Church as a period of 'sanctity and obscurity', the same may not be said of Glastonbury[158]. An explanation of Glastonbury's success lies, I shall argue, in the monastery's promotion of its own past; it established its association with a pre-Bedan age, with the cult of St Patrick; it persisted in developing the notion of an ancient wooden church and finally it stressed its long association with West Saxon kings and with Ine in particular.

The evidence for the cult of St Patrick at Glastonbury comes primarily from B who states that Irish pilgrims came to Glastonbury in honour of St Patrick, who was said to have been buried there[159]. This is supported by the evidence of three charters dated 681, 704 and c.965[160].

The dedication in these charters does not appear in any other source. The monastery was apparently dedicated to SS Peter and Paul and later to St Mary, but not Patrick. It is, therefore, significant that two (at least) of the charters are not originals. They purport to belong to the seventh century but were written much later[161]. In linking the dedication of St Patrick with the period of the seventh-century kings, the community was emphasising both the antiquity of the monastery and more important, its great sanctity. The claim of Glastonbury to be the burial place of Patrick gave it a claim to be the oldest monastery in the land. Whilst the communities at St Augustine's and Christ Church had Bede to provide evidence that they had been founded in the late sixth century, Glastonbury could seek its origins through Patrick in the fifth century[162]. Indeed, by

the end of the tenth century, B was claiming an apostolic origin for the monastery[163].

Glastonbury lacked the testimony of Bede for its early history and of this the monks themselves must have been aware. Neighbouring Malmesbury had just such support in its eponymous (and Irish) founder Maildub[164]. Winchester's foundation is also described by Bede[165]. When the earliest charters of St Augustine's were written (or rewritten) possibly in the late eleventh or early twelfth century Bede's HE supplied the historical details necessary for the fabrications[166]. In particular these charters stressed the precedence of St Augustine's as the earliest monastic foundation 'the *mater primaria* of all English monsteries'[167]. In the tenth century Bede's HE provided the reformers and Æthelwold in particular with inspiration: it was clearly used as a source for the preface to Æthelwold's OE account of the reform[168]. Bede was explicitly referred to in the charters of Ely and Peterborough[169]. It is this lack which may have prompted the remarkable series of MSS of Bede's HE where the name *Lastingai*, in the preface, has been altered to *Glastingai*. The earliest such MS to show this alteration is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 43 (*saec.*xi), which in view of the alteration may have been at Glastonbury in that century[170].

This sense of the past and awareness of the importance of the past can also be seen in the words used by the monastery to advertise its antiquity: *antiquus* and *vetustus*[171]. The former was not unusual and was used of other churches. By contrast the latter is unusual and was used to convey the more precise description of *the* old church. The absence in Latin of a definite article presents some difficulty with this interpretation but I would suggest the necessary distinction was made with a different adjective. The word was used by William to describe the church at Glastonbury, but it does

not appear in any reliable document (either cited by or independent of, William) before the tenth century[172]. It represents a stage in the development of the notion that there was an ancient church at Glastonbury; from 'an old church' to 'the old church' to 'the old wooden church'[173].

Finally, the success of the abbey's attempts to promote its own image of the past may have depended upon royal support but may also have inspired it. Perhaps for this reason, and remarkably for an Anglo-Saxon monastery, three kings, Edmund, Edgar and Edmund Ironside were buried at Glastonbury[174].

8.5 Kings and Charter Production

In view of the close connection between kings and Glastonbury it is worth considering the evidence for the production of charters at the monastery. The strongest evidence for links between the king and abbey come in the reign of Eadred, who was not buried at Glastonbury. The evidence shows, as Keynes has suggested, that charters were produced for the king at Glastonbury in the years 953-55[175]. I will argue, however, that charters continued to be produced at Glastonbury thereafter.

In a significant passage B describes the charters entrusted by Eadred to the care of Dunstan for safe-keeping at Glastonbury along with many inherited and acquired treasures: *quamplures..rurales cartulas etiam ueteres praecedentium regum thesauros necnon et diuersas propriae adeptionis suae gazas.* B goes on to relate that during Eadred's last illness, fearing for his life, he sent around everywhere (*circumquaque*) for his goods to distribute them to his followers. Dunstan brought the

treasures back to Glastonbury. Some days later he returned with bundles of treasure (*facultas*) and learned that the king had died[176].

B states that it was out of love for Dunstan that Eadred entrusted his charters to Dunstan but it is tempting to link this with Eadred's chronic illness: he felt someone else should look after them because he could not[177]. This in turn might be linked to the fact that the king does not witness charters in the period 953-5[178]. Keynes suggested an alternative explanation for the king's absence, namely that he was on campaign, presumably too busy to attend the witans where the charters were drafted[179]. But many kings went on long campaigns and still attended local witans, witnessing their charters.

It seems reasonable to ask whether by entrusting 'many charters' (i.e. not necessarily all his charters) to Dunstan, Eadred was also delegating the responsibility for their being written. This is not to say that the production of all royal charters was undertaken by Dunstan but rather that he played an important part in the production of some royal charters. Evidence linking the production of charters with Dunstan was collected by Chaplais[180] and later by Hart[181]. A series of 33 charters dating from 944-46 to 986, with a number of features in common, was identified: as 'Dunstan B' charters. Of this series, three charters (including the earliest) claimed to have been written at the command of Dunstan[182]. Further links with Glastonbury appear in three later charters of the series which claim to have been witnessed by the Glastonbury community[183]; two more charters are gifts to Dunstan and Glastonbury[184] and one is to Dunstan alone[185].

In view of this Hart suggested that the series of charters was begun at Glastonbury by Dunstan and thereafter used at the houses reformed by Dunstan - Abingdon, Bath and Westminster[186]. His interpretation does depend

upon the notion that the charters were drawn up and have survived in the houses that were the beneficiaries: a supposition which cannot always be sustained[187]. There is in fact no evidence to link these charters with the scriptoria of the afore-mentioned monasteries, that is excepting Glastonbury. Given that S.670, a grant in favour of the monastery of Westminster was witnessed from Glastonbury there must be some consideration of the possibility that Glastonbury was involved in writing charters for other houses.

The wider question of whether royal charters were produced by a single agency is misleading for it limits the terms for the answer into a question of absolutes: whether there was or was not a chancery[188]. By analogy with contemporary Ottonian practice it has been suggested[189], however, that the picture was far less clear-cut; that the king would have used scribes from a number of scriptoria but that these scribes would have remained as members of their respective communities and have returned to work in local scriptoria having served the king; and further that charters issued in favour of a particular house might have been drafted and written by member(s) of that house, working for the king[190].

It is possible that the only charters written on the orders of Dunstan were those which state explicitly that he was responsible, the other charters of the series being imitative products of other scribes not associated with Dunstan. But it is also possible that the other charters in the series were written by Glastonbury-trained scribes, if not in the Glastonbury scriptorium itself. This might hold true for the charters of 953-5 which the king does not witness. In support of this theory Keynes has noted several interesting charters that have been preserved in the *Liber Terrarum* but which apparently do not have anything to do with the endowment

of Glastonbury[191]: LT 95-7 concern the estate at Henstridge, LT 97 recording a gift from Eadred to Brihtric. A charter of just this grant, S.570, has survived in the archive of Shaftesbury; it is of 'Dunstan B' formulation and the presence of a copy in the Glastonbury archive might be explained if it was written there. A second charter of Eadred's is LT 109 concerning land at Compton Beauchamp, Berks; it is the same gift as that recorded in the Abingdon charter S.564. This charter is also in the 'Dunstan B' series. LT 116, records a gift of Eadred's to Ælfhere of land at Buckland Denham. The charter for this land survives in the Glastonbury archive as S.555, probably because it was mistaken by the cartularist for a grant of Buckland Newton[192]. The latter was owned by the abbey, the former has no further connection with Glastonbury. It was held by the king's thegn Dunn in DB[193]. The explanation for the existence of these charters in the LT might be either that they were part of the royal collection entrusted to Dunstan or that they were charters that had been written at Glastonbury and of which copies had been kept. But given that the charters can all be identified as part of the same series, which in the later years of Eadred's reign can be closely linked to Dunstan, it seems reasonable to believe that they were produced at Glastonbury or by Glastonbury-trained scribes, and that copies were kept at the abbey.

Why might the charters have been written at Glastonbury? One possibility already stated is that they were produced on behalf of the king who was too ill or preoccupied to issue them himself: hence the survival at Glastonbury of charters concerning lands pertaining to other houses. But I suggest it is also possible that charters of which copies were kept, concerned local land-owners who may have been patrons. The example of Brihtric is a case in point. LT 97 records a grant to him of Henstridge (cf

above) and LT 119 records a gift to him by Edgar of land at Camel; S.571 records another gift by Eadred to him, of land at Rimpton . A final charter, now lost, was seen by William who notes that Eadwig gave five hides at Yeovilton to Brihtric, who *cartulam hanc prefate hereditatis...cum corpore suo ad monasterium Glastonie commendauit, obsecrans in nomine Domini nostri Ihesu Christi ut fratres illius monasterii numquam illam linquant*[194]. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that all three of these estates are situated in south-eastern Somerset near to the Dorset border, within a few miles of each other. The likelihood must be that these charters refer to the same Brihtric, buried according to William at Glastonbury. The Rimpton charter survives in the archive of the Old Minster, Winchester and is accompanied by an OE post-script which records that Brihtric *Grim* gave the land to the Old Minster: it was witnessed by the communities of Glastonbury, and of the Old and the New Minsters at Winchester[195]. Accordingly Brihtric has been seen primarily as a benefactor of Winchester[196]. But in his 'will' Birhtric leaves only one of his lands to Winchester, and nothing is said of those others listed above. So this document is likely to have been only one part of Brihtric's bequests. Another might have been that recorded by William.

It should be noted that the same phrase giving the charter to Glastonbury is recorded again by William after his record of a gift by Ælfhere, also buried at Glastonbury and again it is used of the *comes* Athelstan, who was buried at Glastonbury[197]. In other words these phrases might represent standard formulae used at Glastonbury to describe bequests to the Abbey. It is tempting to think that the phrase was used in the tenth century when the gifts were made, possibly being added as postscripts to

the relevant charters[198]. But equally it cannot be proved that they were written before the twelfth century when William saw them.

Why should the Glastonbury community have witnessed a bequest made to the Old Minster Winchester? It seems likely that Glastonbury had an interest in the affairs of Brihtric especially as he was a land-holder in Somerset and possibly they hoped to secure his lands for themselves. At least they may have hoped to be eventual beneficiaries. The involvement of Glastonbury goes further than this, however, for the charter itself, dated 956[199], closely conforms to the B series and at the end it states that it was enacted at Glastonbury, and witnessed by Abbot Dunstan and the community. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the charter was drawn up in the Glastonbury scriptorium for a local landowner - perhaps at his request. That he kept his charters at Glastonbury for safe-keeping also seems possible; hence the presence of LT 119 concerning Camel, an estate to which Glastonbury never made claim[200].

Keynes has, however, argued that 'there is no reason to believe that a diploma belonging to this series was necessarily produced at Glastonbury (or presumably at any other scriptorium) for the type could have been imitated by anyone'[201]. Yet S.571 claims to have been witnessed by the community; S.670 to have been written at Glastonbury; and S.802 claims to have been both witnessed and written there. It seems likely that all three were both witnessed and written at Glastonbury. It is possible that they were written either by royal scribes or by monks in the Glastonbury scriptorium. But it seems too much of a coincidence that each of these charters - the only ones of the tenth century which claim a Glastonbury provenance - all employ the same style. In order to suppose Glastonbury monks were not responsible it would be necessary to believe that the

scribe(s) used a different style from normal when they came to Glastonbury. More plausible is the notion that Glastonbury monks used this particular formulation. They could have been members of a central writing-office which would explain the use of this formulation in other charters that do not claim a Glastonbury provenance. But, why was this formulation used only at this time? Was it simply at the whim of the drafter(s)? The charters do not have a common feature, for example that they were written in communities reformed from Glastonbury. Of the three written at Glastonbury only in one, that for Westminster, can any Glastonbury interest be detected. Rather the style is so distinctive that it seems equally plausible to think that the charters were all written at Glastonbury, in the house-style.

The series of charters continues until 986. For 953-55 there are ten such charters but the annual rate declines thereafter[202]. Between 957 and 967 there is roughly one charter per year, with further charters appearing 972-75[203]. The last two charters stand curiously apart from the rest in 984 and 986[204]. The series is particularly distinctive in the reigns of Edgar and Æthelred when other charters were far more elaborate; the 'Dunstan B' charters stand out for their simplicity. It is just possible that the chronological distribution of the charters can be accounted for by hypothesising an annual royal visit to Glastonbury. Such a visit might perhaps have occurred on a major feast day[205]. Unfortunately, the only evidence that might be relevant relates to Athelstan, who was accustomed to visit Glastonbury[206]. But the 'Dunstan B' charters begin after his reign.

It needs to be stressed that charters claiming to have been written at a particular monastery are unusual - especially in the tenth century. Following Keynes' list of meeting places for the king and his councillors it is evident that the only examples are from Glastonbury (3), Abingdon (1)

and St Paul's (1)[207]. Councils were held in other places where monasteries existed but these are not explicitly mentioned and it need not be supposed that the meeting was necessarily held in the monastery itself. Winchester may be an exception since so many MSS and charters have been attributed to Winchester scribes and since several charters are dated from Winchester which concern the Old Minster and which were witnessed by the community[208]. The Abingdon case concerns a charter not of the king but of Athelstan Half-King, who granted land to Abingdon in a charter dated from that place and not witnessed by the king[209]. It may be that this should be considered rather as a local matter. The single St Paul's charter has been taken to be spurious[210]. Thus the Glastonbury involvement in royal charters for lands that did not obviously concern them is virtually unique.

The evidence of the 'Dunstan B' charters confirms that there was a close relationship between Dunstan and the kings Eadred and Edgar. The relationship may have reflected upon the monastery of Glastonbury itself which, whilst being used as a place for the production of charters, for the storing of relics and treasures and for the burial of kings, was intimately bound to the patronage of the king. These kings must in turn have fed upon the fame of Glastonbury's favour.

8.6 Patrons

One of the consequences of royal patronage for a church was the interest taken by the king in the election of the bishop or abbot. E.John has argued that the *Regularis Concordia* gave Edgar the right to intervene on a grand scale and that his grants of privileges to reformed houses were, in effect, part of a *Reichskirchensystem* like that of Ottonian Germany[211].

But the theory has been questioned and in Anglo-Saxon England there remains the problem encountered by John of distinguishing genuine from forged privileges[212]. I would also question the link with reform, for it is not clear that Glastonbury was reformed; yet from Glastonbury came a number of bishops. This could be interpreted in two ways: the monastery under Dunstan's watchful eye promoted its own candidates, or the king advanced men from a monastery in which he had influence. Herein lies the difficulty with the 'system' in practice[213]: how to distinguish in whose interests and under whose influence promotions were made. Complicating the issue were the interests of the local patrons which were at least as important as the interests of king and bishop[214]. The patrons of Glastonbury have been considered in studies by Hart and Williams[215]. Here I shall consider one particular episode which reflects the intimate relationship between one patron, his family and Glastonbury.

B in his life of Dunstan tells us that Dunstan had a brother called *Wulfricus*. He was the *praepositus* outside of the abbey, and dealt with the management (*negotium*) of the estates[216]. Stubbs first suggested that this Wulfric could be the same person as the Wulfric who was patron of the abbey, as both men were active in the same period in the 940s[217]. But the matter needs further discussion.

There is some difficulty over the respective dates of the two Wulfrics. The patron of the abbey was active between 943 and 948/953 (see below) but the B life suggests that Dunstan's brother died somewhat earlier. Chapter 18, recording his funeral, is placed before that recording Eadred's accession to the throne in 946; hence by that time it could be inferred that Wulfric was dead. But it should be pointed out that chapter 18 is primarily about the narrow escape that Dunstan makes from a stone

falling on his head, and not about Wulfric. He is introduced because the event occurs during his funeral. Indeed B is rather vague about Wulfric's death. Further, it is evident that B (who was writing some 50 years after Eadred's succession) did not always record events in chronological order[218].

A major point of confusion, however, is that the name was a common one and there were almost certainly several men so named. Two Wulfrics can be distinguished, by their appearance in the same witness lists, by their holding land in different counties and by their patronage of different monasteries[219]. One Wulfric, known as Cufing, owned considerable estates in Berks. some of which he gave to Abingdon[220]. The other Wulfric owned estates in Wilts which later came into Glastonbury's possession[221]. Both men appear in witness lists but probably it is Wulfric Cufing who appears regularly and in a higher position in the lists[222]. The Glastonbury Wulfric signed 13 charters from 943 to 956[223]. He received grants of land in Wilts from 940 to 948. He might have been the Wulfric who received Bourton in Gloucs. which was near to the Wilts estates, but Sawyer has suggested that this Wulfric was a relation of Wulfric Spot. There could, therefore, have been two Wulfrics receiving land in this period[224]. The last possible grant to the Glastonbury thegn was in 949 when Eadred granted him Merton in Surrey[225]. His bequests to the abbey included further estates in Somerset, Dorset and Devon, although William of Malmesbury who records these gifts gives no precise details of their dates, merely assigning them to the reigns of Edmund and Eadred (hence 939x955)[226]. In total his estates could have amounted to some 170 hides.

Hart has argued that there is further evidence to connect Wulfric with Dunstan's brother[227]. In 940 Dunstan received the estate of Christian

Malford which is only a few miles from the group of estates granted to Wulfric, and geographically they form one group which Glastonbury retained until Domesday[228].

Wulfric left his estates to his '*successor in hereditate*' called Ælfwine. This information is recorded in the LT:

Edmundus de Gretelington' dat' Uulfico . quam eius successor . Aelfwine . s[ervientibus] dedit Glastonie[229].

Similar entries are recorded for Nettleton and Horton[230]. William must have seen the charters in the LT and hence he records that these three estates were left by Wulfric to Glastonbury. William makes two points. First, that Wulfric gave the land, after that death of his wife, to Glastonbury. This may mean that his wife held a life interest in the estates. Secondly, the gift was completed by Wulfric's successor, *Aelwinus*, when he became a monk there[231]. This bequest of Wulfric may have been recorded formally in a document, but no such will survives. The information can be found in a note appended to the relevant charters in the fourteenth-century Cartulary[232] and since William records the same details, it may be that the 'original' charters, those preserved in the LT, recorded the information, perhaps as an endorsement on the charter[233].

The surviving notes or postscripts follow the charters for Nettleton and Grittleton. They record the same information as given by William but give the name of the successor as *Elswyne*, evidently mis-transcribing Ælfwine[234]. William apparently learned of Wulfric's bequest and the fact that *Aelwinus* later became a monk from this postscript (or its exemplar). William gives the name form *Aelwinus* which could be either Ælfwine or Æthelwine, but since the LT records the name as Ælfwine, this may have been the name originally intended by William[235].

A second charter (S.625) for Nettleton also survives in the cartulary, dated to 956[236], but it is not recorded in the LT unlike the other Nettleton charter. This is a grant to *meo fideli videlicet abbati Glastingens. vocitato nomine Elswyo.* This is surely a mistake for Ælfwine since according to William, *Aelwinus* granted Nettleton to Glastonbury. The charter may have been a confirmation by Eadwig of Ælfwine's right to the estate. Further, as Watkin has suggested the phrase *videlicet abbati Glastingens* may be an interpolation[237]. But where Watkin considered the name *Elswyo* to have been chosen by the scribe at random, possibly from the charter for Kingston which has the name *Elswyt*[238], it seems more likely that it is a corrupt form of the name Ælfwine. The error in the name must be accounted for in a re-copying of the charter. Possibly the scribe of S.625 was influenced by the name *Elswyne* of the other Nettleton charter. The scribal errors that I propose took place are in themselves relatively minor: Ælfwine/*Elswyne; Elswyne/Elswyo.* The cumulative effect, however, is to render the name completely different. That such errors could and did occur is made apparent by William who seems to have mis-copied *Elswyo,* reading *Elsi* instead[239].

He describes *Elsi* as 'pseudo abbas' whilst Dunstan was in exile and says that grants were made to him of land at Panborough and Blackford[240]. Only the grant of Panborough, however, survives[241] and there is no mention in it of an abbot. It is directed to the Holy Mother of God and the church at Glastonbury. It is possible, then, that William based his assertion on the evidence of the Nettleton charter (S.625) interpreting *videlicet abbas* as *pseudo abbas.*

The scribal amendment to the Nettleton charter must have taken place between the purported date of the charter 956 and the time of William in

the 1130s. But I wonder whether the interpolated material is altogether fictitious. It seems possible that the redactor of this charter was recording a tradition of the abbey that Ælfwine, or *Elswy* as the later writer would have it, served some role in the running of the monastery. In effect he would have been abbot though in practice he may have assumed no more than the role of *praepositus* as, I would argue, his predecessor Wulfric did before him. It would be natural to expect that at a time when the abbey was bereft of its leader the *praepositus* would become considerably more important in the control of the monastery and hence a later writer might infer that he was *abbas* or lay abbot[242].

It is worth pursuing this Ælfwine further. The name is uncommon in witness-lists before 955 but thereafter it occurs frequently. The same problem arises, however, as in the case of distinguishing between different Wulfrics, that there may have been several men with the same name. However, whereas the name Wulfric appears in two distinct places in the same witness-lists prior to 955, the name Ælfwine does not. The thegn so named regularly attests low down in the lists (3rd-14th) from 955 to 958 under Eadwig and then under Edgar[243]. From 958 he appears in first or second place[34]. Williams has argued that these attestations are of the same man and that he was the Ælfwine who received lands mainly in Berkshire, Somerset and in Hampshire; and that he was the brother of Ealdormen Ælfheah and Ælfhere[245]. Ælfwine continues to witness charters until 970. In a charter of 975, witnessed at Glastonbury, the king granted land on the advice of his *uenerabilis proprinquus et monachus Ælfwinus*; this again may be Wulfric's successor. If so he retired 970x975 in which period he completed the bequest of Wulfric[246]. William confirms this by stating that the lands were given in the reign of Edgar[247]. Hence Ælfwine must have been

reasonably active after Dunstan's return and did not retire to the monastery until later in his life.

Of course if Ælfwine were the brother of Ælfheah and Ælhere, he could not be the son of Wulfric. But then the surviving records do not claim him as such. He is described only as Wulfric's successor. It may be that he was a kinsman, for as Ælfheah and Ælfhere were related to the king so also were Dunstan and his brother Wulfric[248].

Whether or not Ælfwine is accepted as the brother of the great ealdormen of his day, he was nevertheless a considerable land-holder in his own right. He may have succeeded both to Wulfric's property and to his position as overseer of the affairs of Glastonbury. It seems likely that he continued to be active long after Dunstan's return in 957, but to whom control of the abbey actually fell it is extremely difficult to be certain.

Dunstan from 957 became bishop succesively of Worcester, London and Canterbury[249]. But it is not certain whether he continued as abbot of Glastonbury. Both the compiler of the tenth-century list of Glastonbury abbots and William appear to be confused on this point, and it is not until c.964 that Edgar's charters are regularly witnessed by an abbot who may have been of Glastonbury[250]. In the meantime a man such as Ælfwine may have enjoyed considerable influence in the affairs of the abbey. He retired to the monastery to become a monk in the reign of Edgar, possibly at a time when Ælfstan became established as abbot[251]. Nevertheless, the very confusion in the Glastonbury sources and the rarity of Glastonbury abbots in witness-lists speaks of the continued interest of Dunstan. It is remarkable that only after the death of Dunstan does the abbot of Glastonbury regularly appear in first place in the lists[252]. The impression that Dunstan maintained an interest in Glastonbury is supported by B who

describes the *praepositus* of Glastonbury, Ceolwyus, seeking the advice of Dunstan, when the latter was visiting Bath[253]. This *praepositus* seems to have been a member of the community, unlike Wulfric and Ælfwine, but like them he may have been active in the management of the community's property.

Notes: Chapter Eight

1) Cf. Green, 'Dunstan', pp. 29-53; Robinson, *Times*, pp. 81-103; *Regularis Concordia*, ed. trans. T.Symons (New York, 1953); T.Symons, 'The English Reform in the Tenth Century', *DR* 60 (1942), 1-22, 196-222, 268-79; 'Notes on the Life and Work of St Dunstan', *Downside Review* 80 (1962), 250-61, 355-66. An important discussion of the evidence for Dunstan's family can be found in B.Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. Yorke, pp. 65-88 at 66-68. For the later career of Dunstan see Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 243-53.

2) In general see the remarks of J.Van Engen, 'The "Crisis of Cenobitism" Reconsidered: Benedictine Monasticism in the Years 1050-1159', *Speculum* 61 (1986), 269-301 ; Blair, 'Minster Churches'.

3) Cf. John, 'The King and Monks in the Tenth-Century Reformation', in his *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 154-80 at 154-55. See above pp. 280; but note Wormald's reservation about the culprit of decline, P.Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. Yorke, pp. 13-42 at 35.

4) EHD, p. 921. For the OE account see D.Whitelock, 'Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', in *Philological Essays in Old and Middle English Literature in Honour of H.D.Merritt*, J.L.Rosier (The Hague, 1970), pp. 125-36.

5) Blair, 'Minster Churches', p. 116.

6) See M.Deanesly, 'Early English and Gallic Minsters', *TRHS* 23 (1941), 25-69.

7) G.Constable, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *Cura Animarum* in the Early Middle Ages', *Settimane* 38 (Spoleto, 1982) I, 349-89.

8) C.N.L.Brooke, 'Rural Ecclesiastical Institutions in England: The Search for their Origins', *Settimane* 38 (Spoleto, 1982) II, 685-711.

9) Although see now S.Foot, 'The Ministry: Clerical and Lay', *Studies in Church History* 26 (1989), 43-54

10) P.Sawyer, 'The Charters of the Reform Movement: the Worcester Archive', in *Tenth Century Studies*, ed. Parsons, pp. 87-93.

11) See J.Nightingale, 'Monasteries and their Patrons in the Diocese of Trier, Metz and Tour, circa 850-1000', unpublished D.Phil. thesis (University of Oxford, 1988). For English evidence see the remarks of D.A.Bullough, 'The Continental Background of the Reform', in *Tenth Century Studies*, ed. Parsons, pp. 20-36 at 28-9 and Wormald, 'Æthelwold', pp. 36-7. For the *Memoria* see Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung* and below 'Obit List'.

12) See Robinson and Finberg as above, pp. 278-79 and e.g. Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 31-56 esp. 37; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 446. Cf. Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', p. 47 ff., for an important re-evaluation of the evolution of that community.

13) Blair, 'Minster Churches', pp. 117-18.

14) Felten, *Äbte*.

15) Nightingale, 'Monasteries'.

16) John, 'King and Monks'.

17) See D.J.Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1950-52), 254-70, who attributes this not so much to religious as to political motives.

18) For their interest see 'Obit List'. There is no evidence to confirm whether, for example, one of these families was related to that of the ninth-century patron, Eanwulf.

19) Williams, 'Ælfhere', p. 166. See Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 180-81 on depredations suffered by Glastonbury in Æthelred's reign.

20) The only detailed study for comparison is that of Brooks, *Early History.*

21) S.1666 (on which see above §3) and S.237 (on which see above §6). See generally Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict', pp. 145-46 and n.39. Cf. J.Semmler, 'Pippin III und die fränkischen Klöster', *Francia* 3 (1975), 88-146.

22) S.1410; for the following comparison see Edwards, *Charters*, p. 42.

23) Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 160-64; although it is not clear how far the Glastonbury community can be compared with that of an episcopal community.

24) Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 159-60.

25) DA §52, p. 111.

26) Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 155-59.

27) See J.W.Bernhardt, '*Servitium Regis* and Monastic Property in Early Mediaeval Germany', *Viator* 18 (1987), 53-87. Cf. E.Lesne, *L'Origine des Menses dans le Temporel des Églises et des Monastères de France au IXe siècle* (Lille/Paris, 1910), esp. 46 ff. For tenth-century evidence see John, 'The Division of the *Mensa* in Early English Monasteries', *JEH* 6 (1955), 143-55.

28) MSD, p. 10; EHD, p. 897. See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 695.

29) MSD, p. 25. See Bede, HE V,2; V,18; cf, Sawyer, 'Worcester Archive', p. 92, for the possibility that the deacons were monks.

30) Cf. the communities at Abingdon and Ely; Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon' and A.Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *JEH* 40 (1989), 159-207.

31) The date of Dunstan's appointment is not certain: a charter S.466 describes Dunstan as abbot in 940, yet a twelfth-century addition to the

ASC A/F gives 943 for his appointment. But Dunstan does not, significantly, appear as abbot in charter witness-lists until 946 and thereafter; SS.509 (946), 538 (948), 546 (949), 550 (949), 544 (949), 553 (950), 555 (951), 559 (952), 582 (955), 605 (956), 571 (956), 633 (956). With the exception of S.509, where Dunstan was an unwilling witness, the charters all fall within the reign of Eadred.

32) Cf. Stenton, *Abbey of Abingdon*, p. 7 and *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 447-48. Doubts were expressed by John, 'King and Monks', pp. 161-62 and further in 'The Sources of the English Monastic Reformation: A Comment', *RB* 60 (1970), 197-203 at 199. He challenged the suggestion that Dunstan's 'mind' was behind the reforms under Edgar. By way of 'reply' cf. Symons, 'Notes', pp. 250, 256-61, 355-58. See also Brooks, *Early History*, p. 245.

33) S.Foot, unpublished fellowship dissertation, although she does not discuss the matter in detail. Her ideas will be published in her forthcoming *Anglo-Saxon Minsters: an Annotated Catalogue.* I am grateful to Dr Foot for allowing me to see her work in advance of publication.

34) MSD, p. 25.

35) *Praepositus* is ambiguous. It can mean a monastic officer or layman.

36) Symons, 'Notes', p. 257.

37) A point recorded by Symons, 'Notes', p. 258, but which he did not accept.

38) Whitelock, 'Authorship'.

39) Symons, 'Notes', p. 257; cf, John, 'The Sources'.

40) See T.Symons, 'Englands Brauchtexte im 10./11. Jahrhundert', in *Consuetudinum Saeculi X/XI/XII Monumenta Non-Cluniacensia*, ed. K.Hallinger, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum 7.1 (Siegburg, 1984), 371-93 at 378.

41) Wormald, 'Æthelwold'.

42) Cf. Brooks, *Early History*, p. 251.

43) *ib.*, p. 252.

44) MSD, pp. 41-2.

45) Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 697.

46) Brooks, *Early History*, p. 252.

47) M.Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', *ASE* 4 (1975), 67-111 at 72-3. See also Wood, 'The Making', and *Historia Brittonum*, ed. Dumville, p. 10.

48) Although these links were clearly not necessarily the same; Wormald, 'Æthelwold'.

49) See Yorke, 'Æthelwold', pp. 68-9.

50) For the wider scope of Æthelwold's work see B.Yorke, 'Introduction', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. Yorke, pp. 1-12.

51) Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 48-56 and Table I.

52) John, 'King and Monks', p. 160.

53) MSD, p. 46.

54) For Westminster see S.1293, a post-Conquest forgery, attributes the reformation of Westminster to Dunstan. For Malmesbury see GP, p. 404; GR I, 173.

55) MSD, pp. 46-7.

56) But Dunstan is referred to as *pontifex*.

57) John, 'King and Monks', p. 157; Keynes, 'Athelstan's Books', pp. 161-62, suggests Dunstan reformed the community in the 960s. On John of Gorze, see Wormald, 'Æthelwold', p. 28.

58) Evidence that Bath was refounded is uncertain. For differing interpretations cf. Robinson, *Times*, pp. 61-3; and Keynes, 'Athelstan's Books', pp. 161-62.

59) Symons, 'Notes', pp. 259-61, 355-58.

60) Brooks, *Early History*, p. 249.

61) Wormald, 'Æthelwold', pp. 33 f. Cf. the remarks of H.Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands bis 1066* (Paderborn, 1985), pp. 279-85 at 279 f., who notes the difficulty of the evidence supporting John's theory that the king granted royal privileges to reformed communities - the 'orthodoxorum' group: John, 'Some Latin Charters', pp. 181-209; 'Some Alleged Charters of King Edgar for Ely', in his *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 210-233. Cf. Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 98-100, who argues that the orthodoxorum charters are forgies 'drawn up ultimately on the basis of the authentic S.876'.

62) E.John, 'The Beginning of the Benedictine Reform in England', in his *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 249-64.

63) DA §61, p. 128; *ad usum monachorum regulariter*. S.764 unfortunately survives only in the fourteenth-century cartulary.

64) GC I, 146; DA §61, pp. 128-29. The pope could be John XII (955-64) or John XIII (965-72).

65) The former provision can be found only in the DA version, the latter only in the GR I, 168-69.

66) Respectively; F.Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2nd edn (London, 1979), pp. 318; *Papsturkunden, 896-1046*, ed. H.Zimmermann, 2 vols, Veröffentlichungen der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 174, 177 (Wien, 1984-85) I, 550-51, no. 282; Wormald, 'Æthelwold', p. 34.

67) Zimmermann *ib.* The privilege is S.783.

68) This observation includes the papal charter of Leo, discussed above, chapter 5. See below, Appendix 1.

69) SS.499 and 966.

70) Not John XII, as Scott, p. 204, n. 124.

71) GR I, p. 172.

72) The date depends on when the beginning of Edgar's reign is calculated; see Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', p. 65ff.

73) Zimmermann, *Papsturkunden* I, 333-35, no. 170; which allows easy comparison of the two texts.

74) *ib.* I, 333.

75) *Ego* appears in nos. 63, 96, 122, 214, 270, 298, 304, 537, 553; pp. 105-06, 168-70, 214-15, 420-21, 529-31, 578-80, 589-80, 1021-22, 1046-47.

76) No.553. Of the charters of Gregory VII only two employ the word, and of these only one is considered genuine; L.Santifaller, *Quellen und Forschungen zum Urkunden - und Kanzleiwesen Papst Gregors VII*, Studi e Testi 190 (Vatican, 1957), nos 32 and 186.

77) L.Halphen and F.Lot, *Recueil des Actes de Lothaire et de Louis V Rois de France* (Paris, 1908), no. xxiv, pp. 53-6.

78) GR I, p. 172.

79) Halphen and Lot, *Recueil*, pp. 53-6.

80) J.F.Lemarignier, *Les Privilèges d'Exemption et de Jurisdiction Ecclésiastique des Abbayes Normandes* (Paris, 1939), pp. 29, 158, 264-66. J.Laporte, 'L'abbaye du Mont-Saint-Michel aux X^{e} et XI^{e} siècles', in *Millénaire Monastique du Mont-Saint-Michel*, ed. J.Laporte, 2 vols (Paris, 1966) I, 53-80.

81) The first year was from 12 Nov. 954, according to *Flodoardi Historia Remensis Ecclesiae*, ed. I.Heller and G.Waitz, in MGH Scriptores 13 (Hannover, 1881), pp. 405-599.

82) D.Matthew, 'Mont-Saint-Michel and England', in *Millénaire*, ed. Laporte, II, 677-702.

83) See D.Knowles *et al.*, *Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 51-2.

84) J.Laporte, 'Les Obituaires du Mont', in *Millénaire*, ed. Laporte, II, 725-41.

85) See below 'Obit List', and for an explanation of the discrepant dates.

86) The obit list included the names of Scotland of St Augustine's and Vincent of Abingdon.

87) See Barlow, *English Church*, pp. 82-3. For the dispute cf. *Historiola*, ed. Hunter, pp. 15-20. See also GC I, xxi f.

88) *English Historical Documents II, 1042-1189*, ed. D.Douglas and G.Greenaway, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1981), pp. 643-44.

89) DA §76, pp. 154-57.

90) See Appendix 1.

91) Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 22-33; Wormald, 'Æthelwold', p. 38.

92) *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock *et al.* I, 88-92.

93) Vollrath, *Die Synoden*, pp. 260-68, 449-53, 465-70; cf. Levison, *England the Continent*, p. 196; Symons, 'Notes', pp. 357-58; *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock *et al.* I, 109-18.

94) *Councils and Synods*, ed. Whitelock *et al.* I, 173-74; EHD, p. 895. Cf. Wormald, 'Æthelwold', p. 34.

95) Wormald, *ib.* Cf. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, pp. 18-20. The privileges are *Papsturkunden*, ed. Zimmermann, nos. 58, 189, 530; they concern landholders and precarial tenants of Cluny. This might give some clue as to the identity of the Ælfric who took lands from Glastonbury. The two candidates are E.Ælfric of Mercia, 983x85 and E.Ælfric of Hampshire 983x1009; Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 182, n.104. The former was the brother-in-law of E.Ælfhere (patron of Glastonbury) and thus may have held land of the abbey; Williams, '*Princeps*', p. 147.

96) *Papsturkunden*, ed. Zimmermann, I, 258-61; BCS 915, 916 and 1228.

97) See the comments of Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 196 and *The Crawford Collection*, ed. Napier and Stevenson, pp. 12-18 and 94-5.

98) More generally see Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 195 ff. and S.Kelly, 'Some Forgeries in the Archive of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', *Fälschungen in Mittelalter*, 5 vols, MGH Schriften 33 (Hannover, 1988) IV, 347-70.

99) On Dunstan and Glastonbury after 956 see below, pp. 351-52

100) Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 176-86.

101) Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs*, p. 4 ff.

102) As Wormald, 'Æthelwold', p. 34, n.88.

103) Rollason, 'Shrines of Saints', p. 38. See also Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 174-86.

104) S.Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 107 f. and Thomas, 'The Cult', p. 325.

105) Thacker, 'Abingdon', p. 61; D.J. Sheerin, 'The Dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, 980', *RB* 88 (1978), 261-73 at 266.

106) Rollason, as above n.103.

107) Robinson, *Times*, p. 76.

108) Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 209-32. Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform under Dunstan and His Successors' (forthcoming), argues that there is no evidence that Dunstan was interested in relic cults at Canterbury. I am particularly grateful to Alan Thacker for discussing with me Dunstan's non-involvement with cults.

109) Robinson, *Times*, pp. 73-80.

110) Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury', independently noted the absence of evidence connecting relics at Glastonbury with Dunstan.

111) *Liber Vitae*, Birch, pp. 87-94; discussed by D.Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 7 (1978), 61-93.

112) *Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, ed. W.T.Mellows (London, 1949), p. 59.

113) *Lestoire des Engles solum la Translacion Maistre Geffrei Gaimer* ed. T.D.Hardy and C.T.Martin, 2 vols, RS 91 (London, 1888-89) I, xl; Lapidge, 'Indract', p. 184, n.25. The MS London, BL, Cotton Galba A xiv (*s.*xi) has Indract and Patrick; Lapidge, *ib.*, p. 184.

114) Rollason, 'Lists', p. 68 f.

115) *Leofric Missal*, ed. Warren, pp. liii, 30-1; discussed by C.Hohler, 'Some Service-Books of the Later Saxon Church', *Tenth Century Studies*, ed. Parsons, pp. 68-83 at 69.

116) *Bosworth Psalter*, ed. Gasquet and Bishop, pp. 18 and 21; discussed by P.Korhammer, 'The Origins of the Bosworth Psalter', *ASE* 2 (1973), 173-87.

117) G.Kotzor, *Das Altenglische Martyrologium*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandungen, Neue Folge 88, 2 vols (Munich, 1981) II, 195-96; G.Herzfeld, *An Old English Martyrology*, EETS 116 (London, 1900), pp. xxx-xxxi and 158-59.

118) See DA §24, pp. 68-9

119) DA §68, pp. 138-41.

120) MSD, p. 27.

121) See above pp. 181 n.46.

122) Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic Style', pp. 81-2.

123) Cf. Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 186 ff.

124) *Vita S.Oswaldi*, ed. Raine, pp. 450-51; Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 154-71.

125) Ridyard, *ib.*, pp. 130-33.

126) 'Æthelmaer, the Foundation of the Abbey at Cerne and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in *The Cerne Abbey Millenium Lectures*, ed. K.Barker (Cerne Abbas, 1988), pp. 15-26 at 20 and 24.

127) DA §16, pp. 64-5; Scott, p. 193, n.43.

128) The story is also in the Titus relic list, ed. Thomas, 'The Cult', p. 497 and discussed on p. 171.

129) Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', pp. 67-71. The political context was noted by Robinson, 'William of Malmesbury', p. 18. For Ælfswith see below 'Obit List'. Note also that the *Brut Y Tywysogyon*, ed. T.Jones (Cardiff, 1955), p. 15, records that Ælfhere (possibly Ælfswith's brother-in-law, Ealdorman Ælfhere) raided Wales in 967.

130) *Rhigyfarch's Life of St David*, ed. J.W.James (Cardiff, 1967), pp. xxx-xxxi and p. 8.

131) B.Dickins, '*Dewi Sant* (St David) in Early English Kalendars and Place-Names', in *Celt and Saxon*, ed. Chadwick, pp. 206-9.

132) 'La Légende de Ste Edith en Prose et Vers par le Moine Goscelin',ed. A.Wilmart, *Analecta Bollandiana* 56 (1938), 5-101, 265-307. For the date, Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 38.

133) Ridyard, *ib.*, pp. 40-1.

134) GP, pp. 407-8; see G.F.Browne, *St Aldhelm* (London, 1903), p. 182 ff. and p. 207.

135) M.Lapidge, 'St Dunstan's Latin Poetry', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 101-06.

136) It should also be noted that there is some confusion in William's account of when the translation took place; cf. GP, pp. 385-86 and 407-9

137) Radford, 'Interim Report', p. 122, notes that a stone reliquary was found under what may have been the high altar of Dunstan's church.

138) Abbo's *Passio Sancti Edmundi Regis et Martyris*, in *Three Lives*, ed. Winterbottom, pp. 67-87.

139) MSD, pp. 10, 42.

140) For the dedication to St Peter, see §4. Those charters which do refer to a dedication to St Mary before the *s.*x are, SS.236, 246, 250 and 1695. S.250 was fabricated by William; S.236 and S.246 were rewritten in the tenth century, and S.1695 has been adapted by William using wording from Edgar's charter to Glastonbury, S.791. Thus the only secure evidence is that from the tenth century, S.509 etc. For non-charter evidence see *The Old English Martyrology* (ed. Kotzor, pp. 195-96) which refers to *Glaestingabyrig on sancta Marian mynstre*; the letter from Pope John to Ælfric; and Domesday Book, 90a: *Terra Sanctae Marie Glastingberiensis.* B (MSD, p. 7) refers to a church built in honour of St Mary before that of St Peter; it is quite plausible that the monastery did retain a chapel to St Mary as for example at Malmesbury. See Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 263-64.

141) See M.Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 122-37. For tenth- and eleventh-century attempts to project the cult of Mary back to the seventh and eighth centuries see the

monasteries of Evesham, *Vita Ecgwini in Vita quorundum Anglo-Saxonum*, ed. J.A.Giles (London, 1854), pp. 349-96, discussed by Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth', pp. 331-53. For Abingdon see S.876. For Worcester see J.A.Robinson, *St Oswald and the Church of Worcester*, British Academy suppl. papers 4 (London, 1919).

142) MSD, p. 48.

143) Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic Style', p. 110; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.697 (*s.ix/x*) is a copy of Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* (verse) possibly at Glastonbury *s. X med.*: F.A.Rella, 'Continental Manuscripts Acquired for English Centres in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries: A Preliminary Checklist', Anglia 98 (1980), pp. 107-116 at 115. 144) *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 253; translated by Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Prose Works*, pp. 79-80.

145) MSD, p. 42.

146) Stubbs, MSD, pp. xcix-c; Osbern, MSD, pp. 111-12.

147) See the distribution maps in Rollason, 'Shrines of Saints', pp. 33, 35 37, 41 and the discussion on p. 42.

148) See, e.g. Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 180 ff.

149) See 'Obit List'.

150) DA §66, pp. 134-35; cf. Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 140-41. See K.Lawson, 'The Collection of Danegeld and Heregeld in the Reigns of Æthelred II and Cnut', *EHR* 99 (1984), 721-38.

151) DA §77, pp. 156-57; Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey*, pp. 105-07.

152) GR I, 56, 60; GP, p. 198 and DA §21, pp. 68-9.

153) Robinson, 'William of Malmesbury', pp. 19-20; Scott, p. 194, n.55.

154) At a time when MSS of Bede's HE were most common; R.H.C.Davis, 'Bede

after Bede', in *Studies in Medieval History for R.Allen Brown*, ed. C.Harper-Bill *et al.* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 103-16. See below pp. 337.

155) Cf. John, 'King and Monks', pp. 156-57; *Historia Brittonum*, ed. Dumville, pp. 9-23.

156) Rollason, 'Royal Policy', p. 95-6; *Saints and Relics*, p. 152.

157 Wormald, 'Æthelwold', pp. 38-41.

158) Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 209 ff.

159) MSD, p. 10; and note that B uses the word *narratur*.

160) SS.236, 246 and DA, §62, pp. 130-31. S.236 was probably written in the first third of the tenth century. For this, I am grateful to David Dumville and particularly to Lesley Abrams.

161) Cf. the comments of Wormald, 'Æthelwold', pp. 40-1; on Æthelwold's interest in history; and Gransden, 'Tradition and Continuity', p. 162 ff.

162) Cf. the rival claims of St Augustine's and Christ Church. See Korhammer, 'Origin', pp. 182-87.

163) MSD, p. 7.

164) HE V, 17.

165) HE III, 7; see Yorke, 'Foundation', pp. 75-83.

166) Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 183 ff.

167) Levison, *ib.*, p. 198.

168) EHD, p. 920.

169) Cf. SS. 779 and 782.

170) *Baedae*, ed. Plummer I, cxiii.

171) In classical Latin some distinction may have been intended, where *antiqua* conveyed the sense of the distant past (finished) and where *vetusta* meant something that was old or ancient but which continued to exist; Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary*, *s.v.* Bede used *antiqua* of ancient things of a

past age but *vetus* (not *vetusta*) of things which were old but still extant. See Jones, *Concordance* .

172) DA §6, pp. 52-3; §7, pp. 54-55; §18, pp. 66-67; §35, pp. 88-89; §39, pp. 92-3; §40, pp. 94-5; §53, pp. 112-13; §54, pp. 114-15; §55, pp. 114-15; §62, pp. 128-29. The charters of pre-900 are the 'Inesuuitrin charter' discussed in §2; and the Braunton charter, DA §53, pp. 112-13, discussed above pp. 255 and n.119. The tenth-century charters are SS.499, 509, 513, 553, 1725 (DA, §55) and 1773 (DA, §62). Of these SS.499 and 553 are forgeries; for the former see Appendix I, for the latter Abrams, 'Lucid Intervals'. SS.1725 and 1773 present considerable difficulties since it is not clear whether William is quoting from a charter or using one of a number of 'stock' phrases - see Appendix II. S.519 is a grant of Edmund to Æthelflaed of Damerham. It is unusual since Æthelflaed mentions her bequest to Glastonbury in the disposition; other bequests recorded in the GC are added as post-scripts to the end of the relevant charter. There was good motive for adapting S.513 since in his will Eadred (S.1515) left the estate to Winchester, New Minster and thus Glastonbury may have had to adapt the charter to strengthen its claim. The evidence for the use of *vetusta* in the tenth century thus rests on one charter, S.509, which survives only in the fourteenth-century cartulary.

173) For the final stage see above §2, pp. 77-80.

174) See below 'Obit List'.

175) Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 46-9. In the following I have not discussed the so-called 'Dunstan A' charters attributed by Hart to the work of Dunstan at Glastonbury: C.Hart, 'Danelaw Charters and the Glastonbury Scriptorium', *DR* 90 (1972), 125-32; and his forthcoming, *Charters of Barking Abbey*. His conclusions have been challenged by Sawyer, *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed

P.Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters 2 (London, 1979), pp. xlvii-xlix; and Keynes, 'Athlestan's Books', pp. 157-59.

176) MSD, p. 29; EHD, p. 900.

177) MSD, p. 31; Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 48.

178) Charters which are part of the group known as 'Dunstan B' and described below.

179) Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 48, although this does raise the question of where the charters were drafted: see below.

180) P.Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: from the Diploma to the Writ', *JSA* 3 (1966), 160-76 at 163-64.

181) C.Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975), pp. 19-30.

182) For the list and proposed discussion see Keynes, *Liber Terrarum*, forthcoming. The charters written on Dunstan's orders are SS.509, 555, 546; Chaplais, 'Chancery', pp. 163-64, also notes that Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 30, was produced at the command of Dunstan. On S.546 cf. Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 232-37; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', pp. 91-2.

183) Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 48, n.90; SS.571, 670, 802.

184) SS.743, 791.

185) S.753.

186) Hart, *Northern England*, p. 19 ff.

187) See Keynes, *Diplomas*.

188) See Nelson, 'King across the Sea', pp. 50-1 for this and a description of Charles the Bald's 'chancery'.

189) P.Wormald, 'Review (Keynes, *Diplomas*)', *History* 68 (1982), 310; Wood, 'The Making', pp. 255-56. Cf. J.L.Nelson, 'Review (Keynes, *Diplomas*)', *JSA* 7 (1982-5), 347-48; and for the opposite extreme P.Chaplais, 'The Royal

Anglo-Saxon "Chancery" of the Tenth Century', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C.Davis*, ed. H.Mayr-Harting and R.Moore (London, 1985), pp. 41-51.

190) J.Fleckenstein, *Die Hofkapelle der Deutschen Könige*, MGH Schriften 16, 2 vols (Stuttgart, 1959 and 1966) II, 17-64; for the personnel, 35-40 and the case of Notker, 45. Cf. *Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae* I, MGH (Hannover, 1879-84), no. 25, pp. 111-12.

191) Keynes, *Liber Terrarum*, forthcoming.

192) See Morland, 'Saxon Manors', pp. 82-3 and 90.

193) DB 99a.

194) DA §58, pp. 120-21.

195) S.1512.

196) Whitelock, *Wills*, pp. 18-19 and 117-18.

197) DA §62, pp. 130-31 (Ælfhere); DA §53, pp. 112-13 (Athelstan). Cf. LT 40.

198) Cf the practice in the GC of recording bequests as post-scripts; below p. 348.

199) For an explanation of the date see ECW, no.468.

200) Of the 33 charters in the series it is worth noting that 12 refer to lands in Somerset. The remaining charters are distributed among 10 counties.

201) Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 48, n.90.

202) SS.560. 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 568, 570, 571 579.

203) 957 (S.574), 959? (S.670), 961 (S.694), 964 (S.726), 965 (S.735), 966 (S.743), 967 (S.750), 967 (S.753), 972 (S.785), 973 (S.790), 973 (S.791), 975 (S.803).

204) SS.854 and 862; the former is not genuine, Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 243-45.

205) Cf. the occasion where Cnut visited Ely on the feast of the purification of the Virgin, when according to the *Liber Eliensis*, the abbots of Ely were accustomed to begin their service in the *curia regis*; *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E.O.Blake, Camden Society 92 (London, 1962), p. 153; cited by Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 152.

206) See above p. 291.

207) See the list in Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 269-73.

208) Keynes, *ib.*, p. 272, *s.n.*

209) S.1208. Cf the format of the numerous leases of, for instance, Oswald where the king does not sign.

210) S.1294.

211) John, 'King and Monks'; the comparison with the Ottonians is made more clearly in E.John, 'The Age of Edgar', in *Anglo-Saxons*, ed. Campbell, pp. 160-89 at 173.

212) See above n.61.

213) See Reuter, 'The Imperial Church System', pp. 347-74.

214) Nightingale, 'Monasteries'.

215) Hart, 'Athelstan "Half King"'.

216) MSD, p. 28.

217) Stubbs, MSD, p. lxxvi.

218) Cf. Dunstan's vision of Edmund's death, placed after he had become archbishop, B (MSD, pp. 44-45); and the anthem (MSD, p. 43). It should be observed that if Wulfric did die before 946, then it was some 42 years before the death of his brother, Dunstan. Either Wulfric was considerably older or he died prematurely, something B does not mention. Cf. the

chronological dislocation in Byrhtferth's *Life of Oswald*; Lapidge, 'Bryhtferth', p. 338 and n.35; John, 'The Vita Oswaldi', in his *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 290-91.

219) Hart, *Northern England*, pp. 371-72; Williams, '*Princeps*', pp. 146 and 154.

220) Hart, *ib.*., pp. 370-71.

221) See LT nos. 34, 43, 44, 46, 48, 66, 85, 103, 113, 126; of which 54, 85, 223, 43, 44, 46 came into Glastonbury's possession.

222) Hart, *Northern England*, pp. 370-71.

223) Hart, *ib.* and SS.472, 473, 504, 519, 530, 541, 551.

224) S.550; Sawyer identifies the Wulfric of this charter with the Wulfric *pedisequus* related to Wulfric Spot. He would consider the Wulfric of SS.472-3, 520 and 550 as the same *pedisequus*, because these four charters are in the alliterative style which Sawyer would link with the Worcester scriptorium; *Burton Abbey*, ed. Sawyer, pp. xli and xlviii. Since the estates (and charters) in SS.472 and 473 descended to Glastonbury, the Wulfric of SS.472-73, whoever he was, must have been related to the family of Ælfheah and a patron of Glastonbury. Cf. Williams, '*Princeps*', p. 154; Yorke, 'Æthelwold', p. 68.

225) S.551. A further charter, S.747, also from the Glastonbury archive records the gift by Edgar to Ælfheah and Ælfswith of the same estate. It is clear that 5 of the estates owned by Wulfric descended to Ælfheah and Ælfswith. See DA §62, pp. 128-33; they are Idmiston, Merton, Culm Davy (to Ælfheah) Tintinhull, Kington Langley (to Ælfswith). Of these Glastonbury owned the first, fourth and last in DB.

226) DA §55 and 57, pp. 114-17, 118-19. Of these there is no evidence that any was made directly to the abbey; all his estates devolved to other people.

227) Hart, 'Danelaw Charters', p. 129.

228) Hart's argument that the estates are linked by the their having been recorded in charters connected with Dunstan, has been questioned; see above n.175.

229) LT 43.

230) LT 44, 46.

231) DA §55, pp. 114-15.

232) GC III, 645 and 648.

233) For scribal memoranda see M.P.Parsons, 'Some Scribal Memoranda for Anglo-Saxon Charters of the 8th and 9th Centuries', *MIÖG* 14 Erg.-Band (1939), 13-32; although none of the cases cited is exactly comparable.

234) SS.472, 504.

235) As above n.231.

236) It appears in the lists of 1247, A 15. Keynes, *Liber Terrarum*, points out that the fact that it was not recorded in the LT raises the suspicion that the charter was written or at least adapted later.

237) GC I, ccxvi.

238) S.866; GC III, 651.

239) DA §58, pp. 120-21.

240) *Ib.*

241) S.626; LT 76 has *Edwius de Pathenebeorge dat' G.*

242) Ambiguity over his role is fuelled by the fact that the *praepositus* could be two separate offices: prior, and reeve or *advocatus*.

243) From 955 (S.567) - 958 (S.678); Hart, *Northern England*, pp. 277-78.

244) From 958 (S.677) - 970 (S.780).

245) See Williams, '*Princeps*', pp. 154-55.

246) S.802; Williams, *ib.*

247) DA §62, pp. 128-31.

248) Williams, *ib.*, p. 155, suggests that Wulfric might have been his father-in-law. This would not easily explain, however, the estates which came into the hands of Ælfwine's brother Ælfheah and his wife Ælfswith. Perhaps Wulfric was an uncle on the maternal side.

249) MSD, pp. 36-8; Whitelock, 'The Appointment of Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury', in *Otium et Negotium*, ed. F.Sandgren (Stockholm, 1973), pp. 232-47; Brooks, *Early History*, p. 243 f.

250) Robinson, 'Saxon Abbots', pp. 40-41; Knowles, *Heads*, p. 50.

251) Hart, *Northern England*, pp. 270-71.

252) Cf. the tables 4 and 5 with 2 in, Keynes, *Diplomas*.

253) MSD, pp. 46-7.

Conclusion

Some scholars have viewed the Anglo-Saxon church as a whole few have examined individual institutions over the whole Anglo-Saxon period. Those which do tend either to deal only with the better-documented tenth and eleventh centuries or with episcopal communities. No published study has attempted to view the history of a non-episcopal community throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. In this thesis I have attempted to redress the balance.

The importance of seeing the history of a monastery throughout the period is clear: only then can the development be fully understood and the degree to which communities continued to be a focus for society be appreciated; for, in a sense, the monastery was the sum of its patrons.

The difficulties of attempting such a study are readily apparent. Evidence must be gleaned from the most oblique of sources and often the evidence is that of unreliable charters or traditions recorded long after the date of the alleged events they recall. The danger here lies in filling the gaps with conclusions beyond the scope of the evidence. The advantage here lies in the opportunity to suggest different models for growth, particularly in the light of advances in scholarly understanding of better-documented contemporary continental developments. Recent historiography has shown that an appreciation of continental comparisons offers an insight into Anglo-Saxon history.

Glastonbury, perhaps like Canterbury, is exceptional in the richness of its sources. This is both good and bad: good because there is enough evidence to piece together a narrative of the development of the abbey throughout the period; bad because the very quantity of material itself has

persuaded some of the truth of Glastonbury's claims to ancient Celtic origins.

Much of the evidence for Glastonbury is second-hand. Most frequently it is possible to see only through the eyes of twelfth- or thirteenth-century works and in particular those of William of Malmesbury. I have tried to show that despite its drawbacks William's work does offer an opportunity for studying the early history of Glastonbury. William manipulated his material, but I do not think he fabricated it entirely. He recorded what he believed were genuine traditions of the abbey. The modern historian's scepticism should be focused not so much on William's work as on his sources.

The monks themselves were keen to promote their own image of the past and adapted charters in support of this. They clearly wished to stress the ancient nature of the monastery as well as the considerable royal patronage. It is surely significant that it was the period when there is least evidence for patronage of the monastery, when there is most evidence for such manipulation of the past.

Despite this, it is possible to consider the extent of royal patronage. It is remarkable that the monastery, unlike any other non-episcopal community, could command such support from West Saxon kings. Indeed, precisely for this reason the abbey developed so considerably that its lands were more extensive than those of any other monastic community recorded in 1066. For this reason also, the monastery did not become an episcopal centre like Sherborne. More significant, in the early tenth century, it was at Wells, lying only four miles from Glastonbury, that the new episcopal seat was located. Thereafter Glastonbury had to compete with the rival claims of Wells to local and royal patronage.

A consequence of such patronage was association with the prevailing dynasty. This alone might explain why Kings Edmund, Edgar and especially Edmund Ironside were buried at the abbey. Before the ninth century a feature of royal succession was the lack of close biological relationship between successive kings. Support of a royal monastery could provide a means of asserting dynastic claims against rivals. There is some evidence for this among rival West Saxon kings, and for the very same reason Mercian kings may have been keen to control Glastonbury. Leo's extraordinary privilege provides evidence for the extent of this control: the monastery was placed firmly in lay hands.

While royal patronage might provide a constant in the development of the abbey, non-royal patrons were also important. Again, it is remarkable that in the tenth century the most powerful (and competing) families, those of Athelstan 'Half King' and Ealdorman Ælfhere, were patrons of Glastonbury. Both these men, together with other members of their families made gifts to the abbey and were eventually buried there. For the earlier period such records of non-royal patronage are rare, but this could be misleading, for the patronage of local kings such as Baldred in the seventh century and Æthelheard in the eighth century might be comparable to the patronage of ealdormen in the tenth century. Certainly, Athelstan and Ælfhere would have claimed royal descent.

The case of Eanwulf in the ninth century does supply important evidence for non-royal patronage. Eanwulf was clearly a powerful patron, and while Glastonbury benefitted directly from his gifts, it may have suffered indirectly for its association with Æthelbald and his conspiracy to depose his father. If Glastonbury was deliberately ignored by Alfred this would explain the curious silence of the sources about Glastonbury's

fate in the later ninth century. Alfred wished also to promote his *Eigenkloster* at Athelney.

Other evidence shows, I think, that Glastonbury did not suffer considerably at the hands of the Vikings. The pattern of estate-holding in the tenth century seems to presuppose a degree of continuity, best explained if it is assumed that the monastery continued to exist and administered its estates. While there is no evidence that King Athelstan made gifts to the abbey, B's Life is important for suggesting the survival of the community in the early tenth century, and describing the royal visits of that king.

Glastonbury continued to be favoured by kings. The abbey received gifts of lands and relics: expressions of the kings' power and the power of the abbey to command such gifts. Significantly, there is no evidence that the monastery was reformed, which would suggest that not only was Dunstan not primarily interested in reform, but also that reform was not simply royally inspired. Reform was local and particular. But the idea that Glastonbury somehow suffered for its lay-abbots or its lack of reform cannot be sustained. There is, unfortunately, no evidence for the composition of the community comparable to the witness-lists used by Nightingale. Yet the abbey continued to do what it had always done: serving its patrons by offering prayers and masses on their behalf. To this end the monastery produced manuscripts preserving the obits of laymen in the ninth and tenth centuries and royal genealogies down to the reign of Edgar.

The evidence for the community in the late tenth century and the first half of the eleventh century is scant. The community does not appear to have received royal patronage to the same extent as before. It is symptomatic of its ailing fortunes that in this period the abbey attempted

to promote the idea of the ancient wooden church and its associations with West Saxon kings. In this period, too, there is evidence for depredation through the greed of laymen like Ealdorman Ælfric or through the need to raise money for Danegeld payments. But decline was relative and Glastonbury remained one of the richest monasteries in the country. Decline is also cyclical; just as reform and royal patronage would ebb and flow, there lay a basic continuity in the life of the community at Glastonbury throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

APPENDIX I

William of Malmesbury and the Glastonbury Privileges

I shall examine here a group of charters, commonly described as privileges, that relate to the Anglo-Saxon period; those of Ine (725), Cuthred (744/5), Edmund (944), Edgar (971) and Cnut (1032)[1]. These have been studied, but only to a limited extent because in the eyes of many they are such obvious and clumsy forgeries. Finberg, however, in his categorization of these charters distinguished between them; that of Cuthred was authentic beyond doubt; those of Edmund and Cnut he thought to have embodied the substance of originals whilst containing spurious and interpolated material; that of Edgar was fundamentally a fabrication, but might have some authentic material; finally, that of Ine was a complete fabrication[2]. Whilst the charters can be so distinguished they also deserve attention as a group, since they have a number of interesting features in common, not the least of these being that the earliest work in which they survive is the DA of William of Malmesbury. Indeed, the possibility has been suggested that William was himself responsible for concocting the charters of Ine, Edmund and Edgar[3]. I propose, first, to consider the relationship between the different charters and the extent to which they are forgeries, secondly, the possibility that they were forged as a group, thirdly, the possible date for their fabrication and fourthly, whether William was responsible for fabricating these charters. (The charters are referred to hereafter as In = Ine, C =Cuthred, Em =Edmund, Eg =Edgar, Cn =Cnut)

The relationship between the charters can be distinguished by the similarity in content and wording. On the basis of content the privileges

fall into two groups, **In/Eg** and **Em/Cn**. There are also striking parallels between the wording of **Em/Eg** and **Em/Cn**, discussed below.

[1] Relationship and Validity.

In/Eg These two charters are the least reputable of the series and have between them considerable similarities in their content - material which cannot be explained as belonging to contemporary diplomatic forms in either case. Both are concerned with immunity and exemption from all service. They both list in detail the jurisdiction of the abbot and his right to hold court (*curia*). Most importantly they refer specifically to the abbey's freedom from the interference of the bishop of Wells; listing those churches which belonged to the monastery and setting out the details of duties to be performed by the bishop of Wells, which were to be in every respect subordinate to the abbot and community.

The similarity in wording is limited, although a similar sense is conveyed, for example, in the invocation and proem. Both charters, however, use the same dispositive verbs together, *statuo* and *confirmo*. The clause forbidding entry to the island of Glastonbury uses the same words, notably the proscription against intruding *causa placitandi, perscrutandi, rapiendi, faciendi*[4]. Also the last element of the sanction clause is identical[5].

There are several differences. **In** is constructed as a pancarta, listing a number of grants made by kings to Glastonbury up to and including the reign of Ine. The same format does not appear in **Eg**, though possibly because it would be impracticable to list all the charters prior to the reign of Edgar. **In** uses Latin to describe the jurisdictional rights but **Eg** uses OE. The number of churches exempt from the bishop is two more in **In**[6].

Finally, **In** has no diplomatic formulation contemporary with the purported date 725, but rather uses forms of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The references to the abbot's court suggest that the material is post-Conquest. **Eg**, however, does preserve some elements of formulation of Edgar's charters: the invocation and proem are identical with those of S.696, the title and sanction can be seen in S.668, and the clause introducing witnesses can be found in S.1214, but the charter also has material from much later concerning the abbot's rights and court. This would suggest that **Eg** was composed using some material from charters of the tenth century.

Perhaps the most significant difference betwen **In** and **Eg** is in the treatment of the bishop of Wells. **In** is extremely hostile: the bishop is not to enter any of the Glastonbury lands or churches without the permission of the abbot; he cannot consecrate, dedicate, or celebrate mass without the abbots permission; he is not to attempt to establish his see at Glastonbury; rather he is annually to acknowledge his mother church of Glastonbury with litanies; provision is made for episcopal visits but should the bishop transgress the abbot's rights the bishop is to forfeit all such provisions. By contrast **Eg**, whilst stating that the bishop needed the abbot's permision to enter any of the Glastonbury churches, makes no mention of setting up an episcopal seat at Glastonbury nor does it refer to the need for an annual litany but, instead, positively invites the bishop of Wells to dedicate churches and to provide the Easter chrism.

Despite the differences, these examples are sufficient to demonstrate a close relationship between **In** and **Eg**. Possibly both charters were composed by the same person and hence he used common themes and occasionally common formulae. But the differences are significant

especially those concerning the bishop of Wells and hence it is more likely that one text used the other. Given the greater detail in **In** it would be tempting to suggest that this was the later forgery.

Em/Cn These two charters are similar for what they lack by comparison with **In/Eg**. They are generally much shorter than **In/Eg** and they do not contain the references to the bishop of Wells or the extensive rights of the abbot and his court (although **Em** does list rights in OE) and they do not have the wealth of detail found in **In/Eg**. Both charters preserve material that could be contemporary with the purported dates of the charters.

The title and disposition are very similar, although the superscription appears in genuine charters of Cnut and Edmund;

[Em] *ego Edmundus rex anglorum ceterarumque in circuitu gencium persistencium gubernator et rector, cum concilio et consensu optimatum meorum pro eterne retributionis spe et relaxacione peccaminum meorum concedo ecclesie sancte Dei genetricis Marie Glastonie et uenerabili uiro Dunstano, quem ibidem abbatem constitui, libertatem et potestatem iura et consuetudines et omnes forisfacturas omnium terrarum suarum.....in omni regno meo, et sint terre sue libere et solute ab omni calumpnia, sicut mee mihi habentur.*

[Cn] *ego* Cnut *rex Anglorum ceterumque gencium in circuitu persistencium gubernator et rector, cum consilio et* decreto Æthelnoti..*et consensu optimatum meorum* ob amorem celestis regni *et peccaminum meorum* remissionem et animam fratris mei regis Edmundi *concedo ecclesie sancte Dei genetricis semperque uirginis Marie Glastonie iura et consuetudines in omni regno meo et omnes forisfacturas omnium terrarum suarum. Et sint terre eius*

sibi libere et solute ab omni calumpnia et inquietacione, *sicut mee mihi habentur.*

Both charters have been 'personalised': **Em** refers to Dunstan whom Edmund made abbot and **Cn** refers to Edmund Ironside in whose memory Cnut made the gift. Both go on to forbid abrogation of the power of the abbot and both mention the grants of their predecessors from Centwine to Edgar. Again, the charters have similar blessing-clauses with the construction of two infinitives followed by *studerit/satagerit.*

[Em] *Quisquis igitur beniuola mente meam donacionem ampliare et priuilegii dignitatem seruare satagerit in hoc seculo uita illius prospera sit et longiturne uite gaudia teneat.*

[Cn] *si quis uero beniuola intencione hec facere, probare et defensare studerit, beatissime Dei genetricis Marie et omnium sanctorum intercessione amplificet Deus porcionem eius in terra uiuencium.*

The disposition clause does suggest that to some extent these two charters are dependent upon one another. But they also used independent material. It remains to be seen how far they employ genuine material from the dates to which they purport to belong.

The invocation, royal title, part of the disposition, the blessing and sanction of Edmund's charter can be found in the diplomatic of his reign; they appear consistently in charters of 944, the year in which **Em** claims to have been written[7] . **Em** has no proem, but the proem common to several charters of 944 is used by **Eg**, and it may be that this was the original proem to **Em**, which was subsequently used by the compiler of **Eg** - as were other elements to found in the latter (see below). The abbreviated witness list is identical to those of 944. Adapted elements occur in the gift *in ordinis et in rivis, in silvis et in planis* which differs from the usual

campis, pascuis, pratis et silvis. The latter where it appears is always composed of these words, though sometimes in a different order. Hence the reading of **Em** is unique. The dating clause (which is also consistently the same in Edmund's charters) has been altered to refer to the privilege (although it is consistent, the indiction agreeing with the date). The listing of predecessor's grants to the abbey is a difficult clause but not without parallel. S.507, a gift of Edmund's to the monastery at *Baederices wirde*, simply records that the gift was made, *ad memoriam reuoco gesta* antecessorum meorum. **Em** refers to *mei antecessores concesserunt..* but lists the kings. Such references to earlier grants are a feature of the charters of the later tenth-century but perhaps doubtful in this period[8]. Moreover, there is some evidence to suggest that one of the kings named, Alfred, was not a patron of the abbey.

Where **Em** differs most from other charters is in the gift of jurisdiction and rights in Glastonbury. There is little with which to compare it: if **Em** is genuine it is unique. But the references to the inviolability of Glastonbury and the abbot's jurisdictional rights suggest much later formulation. **Em**, then, is more closely based upon an original charter of the date to which it purportedly belongs than the others of this group but the interpolations are too many to allow the charter to be used as evidence of a grant of privileges to Glastonbury in 944[10].

Cnut's charter also bears some resemblance to contemporary diplomas: parallels can be found for the invocation, proem, title, dispositive clause with the rights, *iuris vel consuetudinis*[11]. By this period certain rights were being specified; and it is a point in favour of this charter that it does not spell them out in great detail, as do **In**, **Em** and **Eg** [12]. The similarities in formulation are with several different charters from

different periods in Cnut's reign: it is a moot point whether a forger would take elements from a number of charters or use just one as his exemplar. Perhaps the latter is more likely, although it would depend to a large extent on the sources available to the forger: no other charter of Cnut has survived at Glastonbury (or any at all at Malmesbury). Indeed, few of Cnut's charters have survived with which to make a comparison. Also, unlike the charters of Æthelred II, those of Cnut show considerable regional variety, which further limits the extent to which parallels for **Cn** are likely to be found[13]. But material for which there is no parallel occurs in the elaborate prohibition, sanction and blessing clauses. The clause, *et sint terre eius sibi libere et solute ab omni calumpnia et inquietacione, sicut mee mihi habentur*, and the prohibition do not appear in Cnut's charters but can be found in those from the reign of William I[14]. The sanction and blessing, however, can be found in identical form in two early Glastonbury charters SS. 251 and 253, which Edwards has argued are genuine. They also appear in the privilege of Cuthred - but this might be because they do represent genuine diplomatic of the eighth century and not that **C** is a copy of **Cn**. Either the style of the early charters was revived in the eleventh century or Cnut's charter was, at the very least, rewritten using the material available in the Glastonbury archive[15].

Unlike **In/Eg**, **Em** and **Cn** preserve some genuine material, although the extent of this is difficult to determine. Whilst **Em/Cn** have significant similarites in the dispositive section they also show considerable independence.

[2] Group Similarities.

Em also bears comparison with **Eg**. Em's list of rights granted follows

the same order as that of **Eg**, whilst omitting two. The clause describing the power of the abbot is similar in **Em** and **Eg** but can be found in other charters of Edmund and Edgar[16]. The last part of the sanction clause is the same in both charters although this also cna be found in charters of Edmund and Edgar[17]:

The clause forbidding entry into the bounds of the monastery is worth noting since this is not a feature of the diplomatic of either reign; it can also be found in **Cn** and **In**:

Em *Et ne quisquam mortalium seu episcopus aut dux uel quislibet minister eorum audeat eam temere intrare causa placitandi uel rapiendi uel quippam faciendi quod contrarium possit esse inibi Deo seruientibus Dei interdictione prohibeo.*

Eg *Ne persona cuiusque potestatis sive rex siue episcopus siue dux aut princeps uel quilibet ministrorum eorum Glastonie terminos uel supradictarum parochiarum perscrutandi rapiendi placitandi gracia uel quicquam aliud faciendi quod contrarium possit esse ibidem Deo seruientibus intrare presumant.*

In *Et omnibus regni mei regibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus et principibus super honorem suum....Ne ullus eorum in insulam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi ...causa placitandi perscrutandi rapiendi interdicendi uel aliquid faciendi quod ibidem Deo famulantibus possit esse in scandalum audeat intrare.*

Cn *Prohibeo....ut nullus omnino illam insulam intrare audeat cuiusque ordinis sit aut dignitatis sed omnia tam in ecclesiasticis quam in secularibus causis, tantummodo abbatis iudicium et conuentus expectent .*

There are other features that all the charters have in common. **In**, **C**, **Em**, and **Cn** all name the predecessors whose charters are being confirmed.

It is difficult to argue for the authenticity of such lists at any point in Anglo-Saxon diplomatic, although some examples can be found (see above); nevertheless, the fact that all but one of the privileges preserves this clause does suggest that they have been edited as a group. Similarly, **In**, **Em** and **Eg** list separately the jurisdictional rights to which the abbot was entitled whilst **Cn** refers to them collectively.

It is possible that whilst the four texts are clearly interdependent they were forged one from the other and not necessarily at the same time. There is a problem here in distinguishing between what may have comprised an original privilege and what may have been added later to make the privileges conform to one another - as 'editorial' additions. The lists of predecessors could easily have been added to the charters, although they are not all the same: each has been written to conform chronologically to its privilege. Hence the privilege of Cuthred refers to no later confirmation than that of Æthelbald, while the privilege of Edmund refers to no one later than his father Edward. Whoever compiled these lists was well aware of the chronology of the kings (with one exception in the charter of Ine). But the fact that Cuthred's privilege, this list apart, bears no similarity to the other privileges suggests that adding the lists of predecessors was a later addition to Cuthred's privilege and perhaps to the other charters as well.

[3] Dating.

The example of the prohibition clause quoted above is significant since it shows that **In**, **Em**, **Eg** and **Cn** were not all copies of one another. The least elaborate of the four is **Cn** followed by **Em** with **Eg** and **In** as the most elaborate. The significant differences between the charters suggest that they were not forged as a group at the same time but possibly in two

or more stages. Whilst all the privileges show a unity of purpose - to establish the rights of the monastery - the fact that **In/Eg** were particularly concerned with the bishop of Wells might suggest a different date of composition. This can be demonstrated in the case of the later grant of privileges of Henry II. It is of the same format as **In** and **Eg** and is clearly based upon those texts in the lists of OE rights, the lists of islands and churches subject to Glastonbury, the power of the abbot and his right to hold court, the prohibition clause, the right to free election and freedom from the diocesan[18]. The charter was not written until the reign of Henry II, after the supposed date of the DA and GR 3rd edition, and cannot have been written at the same time as the other privileges.

It has been pointed out that all of the privileges survive in the DA[19]. William of Malmesbury's work is thus the earliest witness to these privileges. The earlier LT (no.21) preserved only the charter of *Cuthred de libertatibus concessis.Glastonie*; the privileges of Ine, Edgar and Patrick are listed separately, those of Edmund and Cnut not at all. If the silence of the LT were taken to indicate that the charters in question had not been written at the time when the LT was compiled, then it could be argued that the privileges were forged some time between the date of the LT and that of the DA (GR), that is, between the late tenth century and 1129x35. But this argument is weakened by the fact that even after the charters had been forged **Em** and **Cn** were not copied into any of the later lists of charters preserved in 1247[20].

It is thus possible that **Eg** was forged in the mid-eleventh century. This was a period of crisis for the abbey. Æthelweard and Æthelnoth were accused of despoiling the abbey's lands[21]. The latter was deprived of the abbacy by Archbishop Lanfranc. His successor Thurstan also encountered the

hostility of Giso and Lanfranc in a council described by William. In this, Thurstan defended the rights of jurisdiction enjoyed by the abbot of Glastonbury. In his defence he cited the charters of privileges from Ine to Edward[22]. This was surely the context in which such a charter as that of Edgar would have been produced.

It is uncertain when the other charters were forged. It can be argued that since **Em**, **Cn** and **C** are altogether less elaborate forgeries, they were composed before **Eg** and in the case of **Cn**, in or after 1032 (its purported date). The fact that **Cn** is granted in honour of Cnut's 'brother' Edmund Ironside, who was buried at Glastonbury, might suggest the circumstances in which the charter was forged: perhaps during the reign of Cnut the abbey wished to assert its claim to the patronage of that king[23]. If this charter was not composed in 1032 or during the remaining three years of Cnut's rein, it is difficult to see why it should have been composed at all. Since both **Cn** and **C** refer to the alleged wooden church it is possible that they were written at a similar time.

[4] William's Involvement.

Suspicion has, however, fallen upon William. Was he responsible for the forgeries? The most significant case is that of **In** where the privilege was compiled using material from the DA and hence there must be a presumption that William himself composed the charter. The charter of Ine mentions a number of earlier grants which are also recorded in the text of the DA but these it could be argued could have come from the lost LT or other source common to William and the compiler of the charter. But there are three clear instances of verbal agreement between the charter and the text of DA which suggest to me that one was copied from the other and not that they used a common source.

First, the most important of these concerns a charter of Bishop Haeddi which was witnessed by Caedwalla. William remarked in the DA *cedwalla confirmavit et propria manu licet paganus signum crucis expressit.* The same comment appears in In. William's observation has been taken as an indication of his ability as an historian to elicit historical insight from the smallest of details. It is charateristic of William's style[24].

Secondly, William noted in the DA a gift by Cenwalh which he said was made at the request of Archbishop Theodore (*interveniente*). The charter does survive, S.227, but there is no mention of Theodore's request, only his subscription. It is plausible to suggest that William was 'reading into' the charter the information concerning Theodore, on the basis of his having subscribed the charter. Again, this might be expected of William.

Thirdly, William refers in the DA to the charter of Centwine granting land at Glastonbury to the monastery, *Kentuuinus rex Glastingai liberas ab omni seruicio concessit vi hides.....quatinus fratres eiusdem loci habeant ius eligendi et constituendi rectorem iuxta regulam sancti Benedicti.* A charter of Centwine, S.237, also preserves this comment about the rule of St Benedict. Edwards has argued that this may well be a later interpolation and hence either both the charters of Centwine were forged or interpolated at a later date with same detail in the same words, or else that this is a typical example of William conflating the texts of charters (see below) in which case the appearance of the same phrase in In would suggest the latter was copied from the DA. The use of gerunds in this clause is apparently a feature of William's style and can be seen in all of the charters whose texts he reproduces *in extenso*, including the three privileges of Pope Leo, King Cenwulf and Pope John.

It seems certain that In was adapted from William's DA. The charter was copied into the later recensions of the GR, written c.1140, and hence William would be the most likely author. Against this it should be noted that In refers to one anachronistic charter, that of Æthelheard, granted after the death of Ine. If William were the author this would be an uncharacteristic mistake, but there is no simple alternative explanation. To argue that William did not compose this charter, it has to be hypothesised that after William had written the DA (1129x35) another writer (presumably from Glastonbury) compiled the pancarta and then later (c.1140) it was copied into the revised GR. The text was then taken from the GR and added to the heavily interpolated and later editions of the DA. Perhaps the least plausible part of this theory is that William copied the charter made by someone else and based on the DA, into the GR. But it is worth bearing in mind the question of the authorship of the later recensions of the GR. Whilst it is accepted that William was responsible for all three recensions there is room for doubt[25]. Stubbs himself refers to material added by a later editor, not necessarily William [26]. The order of recensions is important too for whilst Stubbs argued, with considerable reservation, for B preceeding C, Robinson plausibly argued that B was later than C and the work of another editor[27]. This other editor must have had access to information on Glastonbury since the B recension preserves a unique narrative on the privilege of Edgar to Glastonbury, adding a few details. It is also the only recension to preserve the Papal confirmation of Edgar's privilege: the C edition gives instead the letter of Pope John to Ealdorman Ælfric. However, Ine's charter does not survive in the B MSS but in C. It would, therefore, be to accept the most economical theory if we suppose

that William himself wrote the charter and added it to the later edition of the GR.

Edgar's charter is similar to that of Ine and it has been suggested that William also composed this charter[28]. The two privileges, **In** and **Eg** have a number of features in common, sufficient to suggest some interdependence. But the verbal similarities are few. There is only one significant phrase common to the two - the prohibition clause. Unlike **Eg**, **In** was a pancarta advertising the ancient origins of the monastery. The differences in detail are more significant. This would suggest that William was not responsible for fabricating this charter entirely.

The witness list of **Eg** is worth commenting on. There survives one other charter of 971, S.782, with which the witnesses might be compared but the lists have little in common except for the names of the king, Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold. More interesting the Glastonbury charter claims to have been witnessed by *Kinadius rex Albanie*[29] and *Mascusius archipirata.* But *Kinadius* and *Mascusius* appear only in one charter of 963x71 which has been considered a forgery (S.808). One possible source for these names was 'Florence' who names Kynath king of the Scots and Maccus king of the isles as present at Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973. William's GR is the only other source to name those present at the coronation and he included both those named in the Glastonbury charter, using the unusual description of *Archipirata* for *Mascucius*[30]. If William did not actually invent this list then his editorial hand lies not far behind.

Whilst I would argue that a number of the features in the charters could have come from the work of William I do not think that he was responsible for fabricating the whole group, which in any case is too diverse to suggest a single agent in their composition.

In the fifth book of the GP William included a number of Malmesbury charters. By comparing the text of the GP with those from the cartularies, Edwards concluded that William changed the text in four significant ways. First, he conflated witness lists from several charters. Secondly, he sometimes abbreviated the charters. Thirdly, he substituted synonyms for certain words. Fourthly, he changed the grammar, in particular the tense of the verbs [31]. The same changes can be observed in the Glastonbury charters.

William's editorial hand is most apparent if the texts of the GR and the DA are compared. Em is little different except for minor alterations to the text, where diffrent words are used but the same meaning is retained[32]. Cn differs in that GR adds the indiction for the year 1032[33]. In has the proem in DA but not in GR; possibly it was omitted for the sake of brevity in the later work[34]. Cuthred's charter is different in both editions; DA has a short sanction into which a phrase referring to the *hengissingum*[35] has been added and includes a number of witnesses; the GR version has a complete sanction (which agrees with other eighth-century examples[36]) and no witnesses. Eg is the same in DA and GR (C) but GR (B) preserves an extended narrative account[37]. Some of these differences could be explained by the fact that the DA text has survived only after much alteration from William's original work and hence the differences might be ascribed to later redactors. But William also adapted his work elsewhere.

William has been accused of forging a Malmesbury charter, S.436, to be found only in the GP. As Stevenson observed 'it seems to have been prepared or interpolated by Malmesbury, although he [William] ascribes the drawing up of this charter to Athelstan himself'[38]. But William did not make this charter out of nothing. It is clearly a conflation of three Malmesbury charters, SS. 415, 434 and 435 which William does not otherwise record.

This was part of William's method - perhaps to save time and space. Indeed he makes his purpose explicit in the sentence which preceeds the text: *multis quidem cartis sed unam scripturam praeferentibus*[39]. Again, the conflation of texts is a device which William used in his manipulation of the Glastonbury charters in the DA.

Finally, William probably edited texts other than charters. The letter of Pope John to Ælfric survives in the GR and in the letter collection in London, B.L., Cott. Tiber. A.xv. The GR version, however, adds that the church at Glastonbury was *totius Britanniae prima* and subject to it were seven (named) churches. The same details can be found in the privilege of Ine [40].

Notes

1) Respectively SS.250, 257, 499, 783 and 966

2) ECW, pp. 116, 134, 149, 145, 113 and the explanation of symbols on p. 23. Cf. Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 36-7, 45-8, on Ine and Cuthred.

3) Scott, p. 32. But cf. Morland, 'Glaston Twelve Hides', p. 36.

4) DA, pp. 100 and 126. On *placita* and private justice see Wormald, 'Settlement of Disputes', in *Settlement of Disputes*, ed. Davies and Fouracre, pp. 151 and 162-63.

5) DA, pp. 102 and 126

6) The dispute over churches was clearly an ongoing matter between Glastonbury and Wells. It is better documented from the late eleventh century. See GC I, xxi ff. and further Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 237-38. The difference between In and Eg is important. The former includes the churches of Pilton and Brent, which Glastonbury was eventually forced to ceed to Wells c.1174-91. They are also claimed (and especially distinguished from the other churches) in the GR version of the letter to Ælfric. Since Edgar's charter does not mention them it may be that his charter was composed before the dispute arose over their jurisdiction, that is by the time William wrote In and the letter.

7) Cf SS.493, 494, 495, 497, 498, 501.

8) See Edgar's *Orthodoxorum* charters (of privilege) which mention earlier grants; above p. 347 n.61.

9) Cf S.470 and Simpson, '*King Alfred*', p. 400.

10) On immunities see above, pp. 206-07. Cf. ECW, p. 222 ff on the Taunton immunity.

11) Invocation S.957; title S.954; similar proem S.969; rights SS.969, 952 and cf SS.976, 989; references to predecessors SS.952, 954. Keynes,

Diplomas, p. 40 n.202, describes the 'spurious diploma' S.966 as being interpolated at the 'beginning'.

12) On jurisdiction see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 492-502 and Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 73-81

13) Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 126 n. 136; some charters may have been drawn up in ecclesiastical scriptoria.

14) Cf. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normanorum 1066-1154*, 3 vols, ed. H.W.C.Davis (Oxford, 1913) I, 121-23, nos. 89, 106, 162, 163; II, 305, no. 488.

15) Note however that Cnut's charters are strongly influenced by those of his predecessors. See e.g. a Sherborne charter, S.975, dated 1035, which contains material from a ninth-century charter S.298: O'Donovan, *Sherborne*, p. 57. Note also Keynes' observations on Cnut's charters; some were drawn up in ecclesiastical scriptoria, Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 126 n. 136.

16) *Tam in notis quam ignotis, in modicis et in magnis.* Cf. e.g. S.493 and S.668

17) See above n.7 and S.668. Note that features of earlier charters from 940s do re-emerge in later periods cf Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 71

18) There are a number of clear verbal borrowings also.

19) Keynes, *Liber Terrarum.*

20) For the date of the LT see above pp. 25-31.

21) See DA, §66, pp. 134-45. Note too that Edgar's body was said to have been translated by Æthelweard (c.1024-53). A thirteenth-century addition to the DA (M) records this as 44 years after Edgar's death, i.e. 1019. But the DA specifically links the translation with Æthelweard. Cf. the *The Register of Malmesbury Abbey*, ed. J.Brewer, 2 vols, RS 72 (London, 1879-80) I, 51, which records the event as 77 years after Edgar's death (i.e. 1052).

22) I assume he meant Edward the Confessor; but no charter of either Edward the Elder or Edward the Confessor has survived. Given that William knew of the charter of Edgar it would be surprising if he missed the opportunity of referring to it in this dispute by implying that only the charters from Ine to Edward the elder were cited.

23) Note ASC D 1016, records that Edmund and Cnut were *wedbrothers*. William refers to them as simply brothers GR I, 219. This might have inspired the composer of **Cn**, perhaps in order to explain why Cnut should have given the charter. But since Edmund was buried at Glastonbury the gift of Cnut may have been an act of reconciliation.

24) Scott, p. 18 and n.38.

25) For William's authorship see GR I, Lii ff.

26) GR I, xlix-lii

27) GR I, Liv ff and Robinson, 'William of Malmesbury', p. 25.

28) As above n.5

29) Kenneth, king of Scotland - which William well knew.

30) On these men see Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 369.

31) Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 80-1. Cf. comments on William's inability to copy accurately, M.Lapidge, 'Some Remnants of Bede's Lost *Liber Epigrammatum*', *EHR* 90 (1975), 798-820 at 813.

32) The witness list, however, only survives in GC I, 144-5 and JG. If William is thought to have forged this charter, then it must be assumed that he omitted the witnesses from the GR version - which is quite possible - and that the redactor of the DA omitted them - which is less likely.

33) The indiction for 1032 is 15, but MSS of the GR give 2 or 1. Stubbs suggested that the first indiction could be correct if the charter was drawn up at the end of the year: GR I, 226 n.3

34) Scott, p. 199 n.92, considered that the shorter form in the GR is understandable because the more specialised work (DA) called for more detail. But the e.g. of Cuthred's charter shows this is not necessarily so.

35) See above p. 129.

36) For the sanction see Edwards, *Charters*, pp. 49-50; Edwards does not however, use the GR version.

37) Scott p. 203 n.121, noted that it is curious that the longer charter in the B recension should have been shortened in the DA. But the B version is not a charter, rather a narrative account and may well be later than the DA version.

38) Stevenson, ed., *Asser*, p. 246 n.6

39) GP, p. 401

40) Whitelock et al., *Councils* I, 173-74.

APPENDIX II.

Charters in the DA

Internal Arrangement.

William arranged the contents of the DA into chronological order and into groups under each king. He based each chapter upon a summary of the charters of the particular reign, from which he could establish the succession of abbots and sometimes calculate the length of the abbots' office. After giving the name of the abbot, William gives the dates of any grants made during that abbacy and a list of the gifts, mentioning the place, the hidage and where appropriate a non-royal donor. In several cases William describes the grants in terms reminiscent of diplomatic formulation. I will discuss just how far William was quoting from these charters and how far he supplied his own rubric. The quotations are given either before or after the list of grants and may be either very brief, such as the name of one attestor, or of several lines. The royal and papal privileges are exceptional in being given in full.

An instructive example can be found in §62 where William introduces a list of grants made by Edgar to Abbot Sigegar in 965 with a brief charter-like passage.

Anno Domini DCCCCLXV ego Edgarus Sigegaro abbati iure perpetuo ad ecclesiam uetustam honorabilem pro remedio anime mee et pro anima patris mei confero Hamme xvii hidas, Dundene v hidas, Wetehulle iii hidas.

It is not immediately clear from which charter William is quoting. The extract may be a conflation of material that he found in one or more of the charters that he lists, that is from the now lost grants of Ham, Compton and Dundon and Wheathill. Such a conflation of material is evident in an

earlier chapter (37) when William describes the charters of Centwine and quotes from three charters SS.1666, 236 and 237. Unfortunately in the case of §62, only a charter for Ham (which may be the same as that quoted) has survived with which some comparison can be made.

The charter records a gift of 7 *mansiunculae* at Ham, made by Edgar and survives in the Glastonbury Cartulary (S.791), dated 973. This charter has little in common with the wording of DA extract (only those words Underlined in the extract above). These could have been two separate grants of the same estate. The LT, however, describes only one grant of land at Ham by Edgar, and since most of the charters in the GC (from whence S.791) are recorded in the LT, this one grant may refer to S.791. But William clearly made use of the LT (see §1). LT 81 and 82 are charters of Edgar's relating to Blackford and Podimore. William refers to grants of these two estates in §62. William then apparently took the next two charters of Edgar's in the LT, referring to Ham and Wheathill for his second group of charters in this chapter (LT 83 and 86). It is thus possible that both William's record and S.791 are the same grant noted in the LT. If this is so then an error was made in recording the date either by the copyist in GC or by William (or both).

Whilst S.791 conforms to the wording of the charters of Edgar's reign, despite being abbreviated (in the proem and sanction), William's charter does not. I think the differences can be accounted for in terms of William's method of recording grants. The first important difference is that William gives the name of the abbot, where S.791 does not. In those charters of Edgar's which survive in the GC the name of the abbot is not given. However, it was part of William's purpose to establish the succession of abbots and hence he gives Sigegar's name (incorrectly).

William describes the grant as being made *iure perpetuo* where S.791 reads in *perpetuam possessionem*. This last is more usual of Edgar's charters.

According to William the land was given by Edgar for his soul and that of his father. Again, I have not been able to find this phrase in Edgar's charters. It was, however, used elsewhere in the DA of Edgar's and Edmund's charters. The phrase was used of a genuine charter of Edmund (S.470). But there is no independent evidence in the charters of Edgar and I think it quite possible that this phrase was added by William to embellish his description. That William worked with a stock of phrases (perhaps culled from Glastonbury archives) is shown by the repetition of certain lines in the DA(see below).

Finally, S.791 records the full name of the church *ad ecclesiam Beate Dei genetricis Marie*. The DA gives *ad ecclesiam uetustam honorabilem*.. The latter does not appear in any other of Edgar's Glastonbury charters and this may be another example of William giving an alternative, but equivalent, phrase.

The same chapter (62) also records grants at Sturminster Newton, Marksbury, Podimore, Luccumbe and Blackford in 963. Of these grants charters survive for the first and third listed (SS.764, 743 resp.). The DA text bears some comparison with S.764 but none at all with S.743; hence it may be that William was quoting from the former.

DA §62

Anno incarnacionis Domini DCCCCLXIII ego Edgarus, sola misericordi clemencia Dei roboratus rex, ob remuneracionem maioris premii ad ecclesiam beate et intemerate uirginis Marie in loco celebri nuncupato Glastingabiry, ad usum monachorum regulariter Deo seruiencium sub abbate Egeluuardo, dedi

Sture xxx hidas, Merkesbir' reddidi x hidas, Midelton' dedi ii hidas, Lucum ii hidas, Blakeford vi hidas

S.764

..ego Edgar tocius Britanniae basileus quandam telluris particulam xxx uidelicet cassatos, loco qui celebri at Stour nuncupatur onomate, cuidam sancti Dei ecclesie, Domino nostro Ihu Xpo eiusque genetrici semperque uirgini Marie dedicate, loco celebri qui Glastyngabury nuncupatur onomate, ob anime mee remedium ad usus monachorum inhibi degencium.....Anno dominice incarnacionis DCCCCLxviii

It is possible that this is another case of William conflating the material of several of the charters. An alternative explanation is that William quoted from the first or last charter. An instance of this in §44 where his quotation can be matched exactly to the first charter listed, for Polden. §62's quotation may therefore be from the Stour charter. If so not only is William's quotation inaccurate but so also is his date of 963, though an error could be simply accounted for by the omission of v in the date.

In 4 cases William quotes before a group and in 5 cases after. Where William gives only a single charter, he quotes on 5 occasions before and 20 after. But this is inconclusive as the examples discussed show, and further the evidence could be deceptive since a similar phrase could appear in several different charters from the same period. Thus it cannot be certain from which charters William quotes, but the differences (and the similarities) can best be explained if William usually gave a summary from several different charters. Such a theory of consistent practice seems to me better than assuming that with some texts William was either conflating

charters or extraordinarily inaccurate in his copying of them, but exact in other cases.

Where the quotations given by William can be compared with extant charters it is apparent that he exercised considerable editorial will. The case of Ham is an extreme example where the text bears little comparison with the extant charter or with charters of Edgar's reign. The Sturminster charter bears some comparison but other excerpts show a whole range of variations from that of simply changing the word order (§44) to that of adding words or phrases (§38). Another apparent quotation follows a list of gifts made by Edmund and his wife Æthelflaed (§55). Since the last grant cited is that of Stone, it may be that it is to this, now lost, charter that the quotation refers. William is unclear who made the gift. Scott, translates *dedit* as 'she' gave, since the previous grant was one of Æthelflaed but the LT 56 records the gift as being made by Edmund. The extract, however, includes two features which may reflect editorial invention rather than an exact quotation from a charter.

An important feature of William's descriptions of the grants is the consistency with which he repeats certain phrases (or variations of) throughout the DA.

For Example:

ad supplementum uite regularis in monasterio Glastingabiri (or similar variation with *ad usum monachorum.*) This describes charters of Centwine, Offa, Egberht, Æthelwulf (twice), and Edgar. William stated his purpose: *iam enim abbatum seriem et quid cuique et a quo rege ad usus monasterii delegatum sit sermo explicare contendet.*

cum corpore suo commendauit ad monasterium Glestonie obsecrans in nomine Iesu Christi ut fratres illius monasterii numquam ipsam liquant.

This appears after lay donations in the reigns of Æthelwulf, Edmund, Eadwig and Edgar.

ab omni seuicio (liberas): in charters of the reigns of Centwine and Eadwig.

assensu eiusdem regis. This is used of grants that survive as gifts from king to laymen but which William describes as gifts from the same laymen to Glastonbury.

qui (sita est) in monasterio Glastingebiri: in charters of the regins of Baldred, Æthelheard, Æthelbald. This might reflect seventh to eighth-century diplomatic form but Baldred's charter, which survives in a tenth-century copy, does not have this phrase and it may be that William added it for clarity.

pro remedie animo mee et pro anima patris mei confero ad ecclesiam: in charters of the reign of Edgar (thrice).

pro abstersione piaculorum meorum et Aelfredi aui mei et Edwardi, patris mei confero ad ecclesiam: in charters of the reign of Edmund (twice).

Both of these unusual phrases are used in the general grant of privileges made by Edmund and Edgar. I have not found comparable phrases in the charters of Edgar or Edmund.

Given that several of the above phrases are unusual or even unique there must be some suspicion that either the charters that William used employed diplomatic that was peculiar to Glastonbury and that endured 300 years, or that William himself had a stock of descriptive phrases which he used of charters. Possibly the answer lies in a combination of the two but in the few cases when William's charters can be compared with extant grants they reveal considerable discrepancies.

DA and Extant Charters

The following is a comparison of charters in the DA and GC. I have noted only some of the most obvious differences.

Cenwalh (Meare), 2 hides (DA); 1 hide (GC).

Centwine (Quantock), agreement (DA); conflated with S.1666 (GC).

Baldred (Pennard), que sita est in Gl. (GC only).

Headdi (Lantokal), 6h (DA); 3h in Lantokal, 2 in Meare (GC).

Ine (Zoy), 705 (DA); 725 (GC).

Æthelheard (Shapwick), in stabilem possessionem (DA); iure prefata possessio (GC).

Athelstan (Marksbury), 926 (DA); 936 (GC).

Edmund (Langford); sub Eadred (GC).

Eadred (Badbury), 954, 26h for 50s (DA); 955, 25h for 150s (GC).

Eadwig (Panborough), ab omni sevicio, 2h (DA); not in (GC).

Edgar (Sturminster), 963 (DA); 968 (GC).

Edgar (Hamme), 965, 17h (DA); 973, 7h (GC).

The above table is intended to indicate some of the differences between the texts. It is by no means complete. It is enough to suggest the considerable difficulty in the transmission of the texts and the problem with accepting exact figures given in the DA and GC.

APPENDIX III

The Place-Name Glastonbury

[1]

Forms of the place-name Glastonbury listed chronologically by the date of the MS in which the name survives. The list is not exhaustive, but representative of the earliest evidence of the different forms.

Glestingburh	s.ix, Letter dated 732x54
Glestingburh	s.ix, Vita Bonifacii, soon after 7
Glaestingensi	?contemporary, charter 951 for ?959
Glestinga byrig	contemporary, Will of Æthelflaed 962
Glaestinga byrig	early s.xi, ASC A s.a.688
Glaestinga byrig	mid s.xi, London, BL, Cotton Tiberi
Glaestonia	s.xi[1], B's Life of St Dunstan.
Glastoniensis	s.xii, GR, MS A
Glastonia	s.xii, GR, MS A
Glasteie	s.xii, GR, MS C (S.250)
Glastingeie	s.xii, GR, MS C (S.250)
Glastingensis	s.xii, GR, MS C (S.250)
Urbs Glastingi	s.xii, GR, MS C (S.257)
Glastingai	s.xiii, DA, S.1666 s.a.678

[2]

Forms of the place-name Glastonbury listed chronologically by the date to which the document preserving the name puportedly belongs. The name-form and date of the MS are those of the earliest witness. The list is not exhaustive but representative of the different forms.

Glastingai	678, S.1666 (s.xiii)
Glastingabirg	682, S.237 (s.xvi)
Glaestinga byrig	688, ASC A (s.xi)
Glastingai	704, S.245 (s.xiii)
Glasteie (etc)	725, S.250 (s.xiii)
Glastingebirie	725, S.251 (s.xiii, DA)
Glastingburi	725, S.251 (s.xiv, GC)
Glastingebirie	729, S.253 (s.xiii)
Glastingaburgh	744, S.1410 (s.xiv)
Urbs Glastingei	744/5 S.257 (s.xiii)
Glastingabirie	746? DA §46 (s.xiii)
Glestingburh	732x54, Tangl, no.101 (s.ix)
Urbs Glastingensis	754, DA §47 (s.xiii)
Glastonia	798, DA §50 (s.xiii)

A comparison of the two lists reveals a clear contrast. The first list has *Glaestingaburh* as the earliest form and **Glaestingaēg* as the latest. The second list has the latter form first followed by *Glaestingabyrig* and with *Glastonia* as the latest form.

APPENDIX IV

Obit-lists in the DA

Identifications: List A[1]

[1] *Anno incarnationis Domini*

DCCLXXXII obiit Eanfridus episcopus, monachus Glastonie.

This might be Eanfrid bishop of Elmham ?x758 - 758x?; there is no other evidence of any connection between Glastonbury and Elmham, unless Ælfric, no.8, was bishop of that diocese.

[2] *Anno DCCLXXXII obiit Epelwinus episcopus, monachus Glastonie.*

There is no bishop of this name and of this period mentioned in any episcopal list. But the (northern) meeting of 787 is witnessed by *Æthiluuinus episcopus per legatos subscripsi*[2].

[3] *Anno DCCC obiit Wibertus episcopus, monachus Glastonie.*

This could be Wigbert, bishop of Sherborne, 793x801 - 816x25. If this is correct it would mean that the date is corrupt.

[4] *Anno DCCCXXXVI obiit Wigpegu episcopus, monachus Glastonie.*

This is Wigthegn, bishop of Winchester, who died in 836[3]. His is the only obit recorded in the Glastonbury list which can be reconciled exactly with another source.

[5] *Anno DCCCXLII obiit Alhstan episcopus, monachus Glastonie.*

Scott has Helmstan of Winchester 838x9 - 844x852/3, but the name given would be closer to Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne 816x17/18(or 824) - 867. Given that the date here recorded corresponds to neither of these dates Ealhstan should perhaps be preferred both because of the orthography of the name and because of his contact(s) with Glastonbury (see discussion).

[6] *Anno DCCCLXXVI obiit Tumbert episcopus, monachus Glastonie.*

Tumbeorht, bishop of Winchester 871x7 - 878x9. Florence gives the date as 879[4].

[7] *Anno DCCCCLXVI obiit Daniel episcopus, monachus Glastonie, VII idus Octobris.*

MS M of the DA reads DCCCCLXVI, although Scott gives DCCCCLVI - *presumably* the reading of MS T. I have preferred the former reading since it is closest to the dates known for the bishop of that name[5]. Daniel was not bishop of Rochester/Selsey as Scott suggested. There was no such bishop. He was rather bishop of Cornwall 955x56 - 959x63[6].

[8] *Anno DCCCCLXXXVIII obiit Elfricus episcopus, abbas Glastonie.*

Ælfric could have been bishop of Ramsbury 991x93 - 995 trans., as Scott suggests. But given the date of his death he could have been bishop of Hereford 934/7x940 - 949x58 or 971; Elmham ?x970 - 970x?; Crediton 977x79 - 986x87.

Note that only one of the dates [4] can be corroborated exactly. If the identifications made are correct then it would imply that several of the dates are corrupt or inaccurate: not in itself implausible.

Composition and Date

The lay-out and the content of the obits suggest two separate lists (here called A and B). In MS T the first 8 names are given as a list (=A), with each entry on a separate line, where the other names (=B) are not given separate lines. The content of the two groups of names differs in that the year of each bishop's death is given only for the first 8 names. In contrast (with exception of Daniel), the date of death is given only for the later names. Thus the two lists are quite distinct and hence probably

compiled from different sources. The later obits of the second list may have come from a (now lost) calendar, which would explain why only the day and not the year of death is preserved. Other evidence for such a calendar may be found in the thirteenth-century obit-list discussed elsewhere. The first 8 names may have come from a (now lost) chronicle or set of annals, which would explain why only the year and not the date is given.

This last point is important for it might be worth considering the Glastonbury obit list (A) as one potential source for the chronicle of Æthelweard or even for the version of the ASC used by Æthelweard[7]. In particular, he preserved the only record of the death of Eanwulf and his burial at Glastonbury in 867. As Stenton long ago noted Æthelweard used a version of the Chronicle which no longer survives, but which recorded a number of details about Somerset and Dorset[8]. He was keen to argue that the ASC itself was produced as a secular work, perhaps for an ealdorman of Somerset; Stenton argued that it was not interested enough in bishops or monasticism and hence was unlikely to have been written at Sherborne, Glastonbury or a smaller house. Whitelock has taken this a step further and suggested that it was possibly written for or by a Somerset ealdorman or thegn[9]. But given that Æthelweard was himself an ealdorman, his own interest in the earlier ealdormen of Somerset might, at least, in part, be explained. This also raises the possibility that Æthelweard was interested in such information as he thought important, to the exclusion of other details, and it may be that his hypothetical source - an obit list of Somerset ealdormen and bishops - contained more details. It is also worth observing (if we go along with Stenton's argument) that just because the Chronicle was written for an ealdorman it need not be inferred that it was written by a layman. In fact if Æthelweard's source was sympathetic to the

ealdorman Eanwulf and written for his successor[10] then a monastery patronised by the latter - just as Eanwulf patronised Glastonbury - would be an equally likely place for the Chronicle to have been written.

The Glastonbury A-list is also important for what it implies about the continued life of the monastery in the ninth century. The most economical theory for the production of the list is that it was written originally at Glastonbury and kept up there. The assumption that the names were added later would make it difficult to account both for the obscurity of some of them and the similarity of others with those of roughly contemporary bishops. William may also have found them to have been recorded as monks of Glastonbury.

Assuming, then, that the list was up-dated at Glastonbury, it must have been started in the late eighth century and have been continued at least until the death of Tunbeorht (878x9). The last two names in the list are odd in that they are chronologically dislocated from the previous six entries. But their inclusion might presuppose that the list was kept at Glastonbury between the late ninth century and the late tenth century when the last of the names was added. The ninth-century names are important, for if Tunbeorht's name was added in or soon after 878x9 then it implies that the monastery continued to exist and fulfil its role in commemorating the dead. This date is also important because it post-dates the first phase of Alfred's struggles against the Vikings which culminated in the victory at Edington and the baptism of Guthrum in 878. But the timing of events is relatively close, for early in 878 the Vikings moved from Exeter to Chippenham. Their route could have taken them along the Foss Way and hence c.5/6 miles east of Glastonbury; but Æthelweard implies that they went by sea, in which case they would have passed the northerly routes to

Glastonbury along the Parrett and Brue[11]. The Glastonbury obit gives 876 as the year of Tunbeorht's death but he is recorded as having made a gift to the refectory at Winchester in 877[12]. That the Glastonbury date should be incorrect is not surprising given the difficulty of matching the dates preserved with the obits of known bishops. Florence of Worcester gives Tunbeorht's death as 879, and there seems to be no good reason for doubting this. If the Glastonbury obit originally read 879 then this would post-date the peace between Alfred and Guthrum in Somerset and suggest that Glastonbury survived the fighting in the late ninth century.

One further piece of evidence may be added here. The LT preserved a document (no.33) entitled, *Tumbeord de Logderesdone .i. Montagu. G.* This deed no longer survives but it concerned the estate at Montacute. The following *G* was used by the compiler of the list to indicate where he thought the beneficiary was Glastonbury. According to William, in 681 Baldred had given 16 hides at Montacute to Glastonbury[13]. The estate is also mentioned in the list attached to Æthelwulf's decimation charter in favour of Glastonbury, where 1½ hides was 'given'. It may then be that *Tumbeord*'s charter was a restoration to Glastonbury of land at Montacute. Alternatively, if *Tumbeord* is identified as Bishop Tunbeorht, then possibly the document recorded some agreement between the abbey and the Bishop[14]. The estate was later lost; it was held by Athelney in 1066. Its name by then had become Bishopstone, which suggests that the bishop - presumably of Winchester - had held the land for some time. Thus whatever arrangement Tumbeorht had made, one of his successors may have taken back the estate. One might also wonder if the fact that Athelney owned the estate by 1066 meant that Alfred had had a hand in the fate of Montacute. In the present context it seems reasonable to suppose that the document was one drawn up,

perhaps, by the bishop, but which concerned the monastery at Glastonbury and hence should be added to the (otherwise meagre) evidence for the activities of the abbey in the 870s.

Notes

1) The following is based upon the edition produced by Scott, pp. 137-38; who used primarily MS T (Cambridge, Trinity College, R.5.33) and MS M (London, British Library, Add. 22934). I have followed the dates given by Keynes, 'Chronology' and O'Donovan, 'Episcopal Dates.' For the remaining obits, that I have labelled list B, see Scott, *ib.*

2) See BCS 250 and Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils* III, 447; where Stubbs suggested that he might be Bishop Elbod of Bangor, ob.809!

3) ASC AE 836. MS M of the DA has Wigþegn.

4) O'Donovan, 'Episcopal Dates, Part II', p. 108.

5) For the relationship of the MSS see Scott, pp. 34-9.

6) Cf. S.Keynes, 'Episcopal Succession in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E.Fryde *et al.*, 3rd edn (London, 1986), pp. 209-24, at 221.

7) See *Æthelweard*, ed. Campbell, pp. xix-xxxvii at xxiv-xxix; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock *et al.*, pp. xviii-xix. .

8) Stenton, 'South-Western Element', p. 17.

9) *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Whitelock, *et al.*, p. xxiii.

10) So Stenton, 'South-Western Element', p. 23.

11) *Æthelweard*, ed. Campbell, p. 42.

12) S.1277.

13) DA, §38, pp. 90-3: *Logworesbeorh.*

14) Perhaps a lease.

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M. Blows, 'A Glastonbury Obit List', in
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ed. J. Carley and L. Abrams (Woodbridge, forthcoming)

A Glastonbury Obit-List

MATTHEW BLOWS

A thirteenth-century custumary from Glastonbury Abbey, now London, British Library, Add. 17450, contains on 5v a unique list of twenty-seven obits.[1] Although the custumary was edited for the Somerset Record Society in 1891,[2] the primary interest of the editor was not the list but rather the customs of the abbey's knights and tenants. The list was printed with some errors and omissions. I propose, therefore, to provide a new edition of the list with a discussion of its contents. The list is particularly important since it contains several unusual obits and has hitherto not been noticed in discussions of the abbots or patrons of Glastonbury.

The obit-list has survived in the rent-book of Abbot Michael of Amesbury (1235–52).[3] The obits appear on 5v under the heading Notatio anniuersariorum in quibus requiritur mandatum and follow lists of the abbey's knights, tenants, and allowances of wax and candles. The provisions to be supplied by the *medarius* (the officer in charge of the mead) to the refectorer for the use of the monastic community on each anniversary are noted after the list: 'five measures, two gallons and two parts of one gallon of good mead, neither more nor less'. The importance of these festivals is suggested by the fact that the provisions were made *pro magno mandato*.[4] In his De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie, William of Malmesbury noted that 'on the anniversaries of kings, bishops, abbots and ealdormen who helped build the church, the brethren were obliged to celebrate mass for their souls at each altar, and, in particular, in the presence of the whole convent, to do so respectfully using the orna-

1 I would like to acknowledge the generous help of Janet Nelson in writing this article and also that of David Carpenter, David Crouch, Stephen Church, John Gillingham, Patrick McGurk, Ann Williams and the editors of this volume.

2 *Rentalia et Custumaria Michaelis de Ambresbury, 1235–1252, et Rogeri de Ford, 1252–1261, Abbatum Monasterii Beatae Mariae Glastoniae*, ed. C. J. Elton and E. Hobhouse, SRS 5 (1891); the list appears on p. 6.

3 The custumary of Abbot Michael records rents and services owed in the first, third and fourth years of his abbacy and hence the survey may have been completed by *ca* 1239. See *Rentalia*, ed. Elton and Hobhouse, pp. 12, 26, 72, 81 and 114. For Michael's abbacy see *Cronica*, chs 113–18 (ed. Carley, pp. 210–21).

4 *Mandatum* was a term which could be used in the general sense of 'requirement' or 'order' as well as in the specialized sense of 'maundy'. See *Custumaries of St Augustine's Canterbury and St Peter's Westminster*, ed. E. M. Thompson, 2 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society 23, 27 (London, 1902–4), index s.n. *mandatum*, p. 337.

ments that they had given the church.'[5] The list in Michael's rent-book would appear to include just such a group of benefactors, almost all of whom had made gifts to the abbey and may be said to have helped to build the church.

A thirteenth-century Glastonbury manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 33 [724]) also records the abbey's customs concerning the lights on the anniversaries of the dead.[6] Eleven of the twenty names of those to be remembered are the same as those in the BL list, the most notable omissions being the names of the Anglo-Saxon abbots and the *benefactrices*.[7] The latest name to be preserved is that of Michael of Amesbury, in whose time the customs (like those of the BL manuscript) were probably copied.[8] It may be that both the BL and the Trinity manuscripts used a common source, perhaps a (lost) custumary of the abbey. Such a book must have provided William of Malmesbury with the details of the customs of the time of abbots Thurstan and Herluin.[9]

The BL list, however, differs from that of the Trinity manuscript in that it provides the dates of the individual anniversaries. Hence it is conceivable that the BL list itself may have been copied from a (lost) *liber uitae*. These 'books of life' preserved the names of lay benefactors and members of the community in order that the most important of their anniversaries could be observed.[10] The endowment of an anniversary rewarded the monks for their

[5] *DA*, ch. 80 (ed. Scott, p. 162); William also described the custom at Glastonbury concerning dress on Maundy Thursday.

[6] Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 33 (724), 19rv. For a full account of this manuscript, see the discussion by Julia Crick elsewhere in this volume.

[7] The names are graded into major and minor feasts, those of King Edgar, King Henry II and Bishop Henry of Winchester being the most important. They are followed by King Ine, bishops Brihtwold and Brihtwig, and abbots Robert, William and Michael. The final group includes the names of Edmund *senior*, Edmund Ironside, priors Thomas and Eustachius, Bishop Lyfing, Ælfhere, Æthelwine, Eadwine, Ælfheah *dux*, Radulfus son of Stephen and Radulfus the priest.

[8] The manuscript is written in a hand of the mid-thirteenth century. A catalogue of the contents of the library, in the same hand, is dated to 1247. This was revised by another hand to 1248, suggesting that the material was completed by that date. See *The Early History*, ed. Scott, p. 36, and M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 4 vols (Cambridge, 1900–4 II, 198–202.

[9] *DA*, ch. 80 (ed. Scott, pp. 162–3).

[10] The most famous surviving English examples of lists of those to be commemorated are those for Durham and Hyde abbeys, which record material from widely differing periods; see *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. A. H. Thompson, Surtees Society 136 (Durham, 1923), and *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchesterr, ed. W. de G. Birch, Hampshire Record Society 5 (London, 1892). For early libri uitae*, and for the possible commemoration of Glastonbury monks, see H. Hahn 'Die Namen der Bonifazischen Briefe im *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*', *Neues Archiv für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde* 12 (1887, for 1886), 111–27. A wider study of Anglo-Saxon necrologies can be found in J. Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen mit einem Katalog der* libri uitae *und Necrologien* (Berlin, 1988), although there is no discussion of the evidence from Glastonbury. On later confraternities involving the Glastonbury community, see *Liber Vitae*, ed. Birch, pp. 47–50, and below, no. 26. Much has been written on continental *libri uitae*; good introductions to the earlier historiography can be found in K. Leyser, 'The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Early Twelfth Century, A Historical and Cultural Sketch', *Past &*

labour of annual and sometimes weekly commemoration of the dead, as well as providing alms for the poor. This was eventually to become an important source of revenue for monasteries.[11] It is likely that at Glastonbury the earliest anniversaries for the abbots Ælfweard, Brihtred, Brihtwig, Æthelweard and Æthelnoth would have been endowed by these men themselves, but only Brihtwig and Æthelnoth are recorded as having made gifts to the abbey. Possibly Thurstan and certainly Henry and Robert also endowed their own anniversaries.[12] Of those others in the list almost all made gifts to the abbey but it is not known upon what terms. One type of agreement was that of confraternity; in return for a gift the name of the *confrater* would be inscribed in a book and recited during the mass. Connected with confraternity was the custom of taking the monastic habit *ad succurendum*, usually shortly before death, which entitled the deceased to burial in the habit within the monastic enclosure.[13]

Whilst names may have been recorded in a *liber uitae*, the anniversaries might also have been noted in a calendar or martyrology. Again, such a source for the Glastonbury list must remain hypothetical, since no calendar of this type has survived for Glastonbury. The only calendar certainly from Glastonbury is the Up Holland calendar surviving in a fifteenth-century psalter (now London, British Library, Add. 64952).[14] Other calendars thought to have been based on a lost Glastonbury exemplar survive in the Leofric Missal and in the Bosworth Psalter, but neither calendar includes obits for Glastonbury.[15] A further calendar attributed to Glastonbury (Cambridge,

Present 41 (1968), 25–53, at 32–4, and G. Constable, 'The Liber Memorialis of Remiremont', *Speculum* 47 (1972), 261–77. For more recent literature, see *Memoria: der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Schmid and J. Wollasch (Munich, 1984).

[11] See B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 29–36 and 365–401; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 475–9; and D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), nos 1, 8, 23 and 33 (pp. 2–5, 20–3, 66–7, 86–9).

[12] See below, p. 4.

[13] On the phrase *'ad succurendum'* see C. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, 6 vols (Paris, 1840–50) IV, 475–6, s.v. *monachi ad succurendum*. For an early example see the case of the seventh-century king, Sebbi, in *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, ed. C. Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford, 1896) I, 225–7. More generally the evidence is discussed by Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 475–9. See also the infamous case of Walter and Glastonbury in H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna. Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (London, 1964), pp. 204–21.

[14] F. Wormald, 'The Liturgical Calendar of Glastonbury Abbey', in *Festschrift Bernard Bischoff*, ed. J. Autenrieth and F. Brunhtlzl (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 325–45. Wormald suggested that the calendar might date from the twelfth century.

[15] The calendar in the Leofric Missal is said to have been based upon a Glastonbury exemplar primarily because the relics of a number of 'Celtic' and northern saints whose names are preserved in the calendar were claimed by Glastonbury. Two of these saints, Ceolfrith and Aidan, are noted as resting *in glaston*. The calendar in the Bosworth Psalter, whilst adapted for use at Christ Church, Canterbury, records that Ceolfrith and Patrick *senior* were *in glaston*. See *The Leofric Missal*, ed. F. Warren (Oxford, 1883), pp. liii and 30–1, and *The Bosworth Psalter*, ed. F. Gasquet and E. Bishop (London, 1908), pp. 18 and 21. See also C. Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. D. Parsons (Chichester, 1975), pp.

University Library, Kk. 5. 32, 50–5v; hereafter cited as G) does contain several obits, but they differ from those in the BL list.[16] G, however, shares the rare obit of Ine, 22 July, with our list and with a Muchelney calendar, as well as the obit of Edmund I, on 26 May.[17]

The list must have been compiled from earlier records in several stages.[18] The first eighteen names are in monthly order from January to December but thereafter the entries show no such ordering. It is possible that the first series might represent all or part of a lost obit-list, which – since Thurstan is the last mentioned of the abbots – could date from his death in 1096. But after Æthelwine (no. 18) three tenth-century obits are given, which might suggest that some names were overlooked when the first series was written or possibly that another source was used. No attempt was made to correct the sequence of obits when the list was copied in the thirteenth century.

The list of obits seems to have reached its present form well before the date of the manuscript itself, for the last two entries in the list, and the most recent of the obits, are those for Abbot Robert of Winchester (1173–80), whose obit is given as 28 April, and King Henry II (1154–89).[19] Entry no. 25, for Robert's parents, gives the date 29 April. It is not clear whether this refers to a separate date for the parents' anniversary, or whether it refers to 28 April as a joint anniversary for Robert and his parents; the discrepancy could be explained as the result either of a scribal error or of the custom of starting the liturgical day on the previous evening.[20]

Since no obit of an abbot later than Robert of Winchester is recorded, the list was presumably compiled after the death of Henry II and before the death of Robert's successor as abbot, Henry of Sully (1189–93).[21] Adam of Damerham described Robert as endowing his own anniversary with the

68–83, at 69; P. Korhammer, 'The Origin of the Bosworth Psalter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973), 173–87; and N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury. Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 252–3.

16 The manuscript as a whole was attributed to Glastonbury by N. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, 2nd edn (London, 1964), p. 90. H. Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100', *Anglo-Saxon England* 9 (1981), 1–60, at 7, suggested a Glastonbury provenance for fols 49–73. J. A. Robinson suggested, however, that the calendar itself was probably not written at Glastonbury; see 'The Mediaeval Calendars of Somerset', in *Muchelney Memoranda*, ed. B. Schofield, SRS 42 (1927), pp. 143–83, at 144, 174 and 178. G was printed by F. Wormald in *English Kalendars Before 1100*, Henry Bradshaw Society 72 (London, 1934), 71–83. The obits are printed by Gerchow, *Die Gedenkuberlieferung*, pp. 330–1.

17 Robinson, 'The Mediaeval Calendars', pp. 172–8.

18 The maximum number of stages is as follows: [1]–[18]; [19]–[20]; [21]; [22], [23]–[24] or [22]–[24]; [25]–[27]. These divisions are based upon the sequence of months in the list. Where an entry records a date earlier in the year than the preceding one, it has been taken to represent an addition to the original sequence.

19 On Robert, see *Cronica*, ch. 93 (ed. Carley, pp. 170–3).

20 Such is the explanation suggested by M. Chibnall for the discrepant dates given for Henry I's death. See *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford, 1969) VI, 43, n. 6. For a comparable record of a family being commemorated on the same day see Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 476.

21 Henry of Sully was clearly interested in the abbacy of his predecessor, since the survey of abbey lands he compiled makes frequent mention of the customs of

tithes (*decimas*) of *Newitone* (Sturminster Newton) and *Kenteleswrthe* (Marnhull), part of which was to go to the poor and part to the community, that they might revere his memory with more devotion (*quo eius memoriam deuocius recolerent*). Robert also gave the monks the same wax and honey from the *medarius* that they were accustomed to receive in the time of his predecessors, and he further established that the community might have wine on the festivals of the apostles Peter and Paul, the conception of the Virgin Mary, St John the Apostle, St John the Evangelist, St Thomas the Martyr and on the anniversary of Bishop Henry, his predecessor.[22] The last two feasts were instituted at Glastonbury by Robert; Henry died in 1171 and Thomas was canonized on 21 February 1173.[23]

Although no necrology or *liber uitae* has survived from Glastonbury, William of Malmesbury in the *De antiquitate* did give some obits of ecclesiastics from what appear to be two separate lists. One includes a series of obits of the eighth and ninth centuries and might conceivably have been copied in that period. The second list preserves obits from the mid-tenth century: these were all (or all thought to have been) members of the community who went on to become bishops elsewhere.[24] It is possible that the obits in the *De antiquitate* and those in BL Add. 17450 are derived from the same, now lost, source. But this does not seem likely since the lists in the *De antiquitate* have only two names in common with those of the BL manuscript: Sigefrith and Brihtwig.[25]

A thirteenth-century marginal addition to the Trinity College text of the *De antiquitate* has noted the obit for Bishop Lyfing, monk of Glastonbury, which is similarly preserved in the BL list.[26] The information supplied by the

Robert's time: *Liber Henrici De Soliaco Abbatis Glaston. An Inquisition of the Manors of Glastonbury Abbey*, ed. J. E. Jackson (London, 1882).

[22] *AD*, ed. Hearne, II, 331–2.

[23] For the date of Bishop Henry's death see *The Early History*, ed. Scott, p. 185. On the date of Thomas Becket's canonization see *English Historical Documents 1042–1189*, ed. D. C. Douglas *et al.*, English Historical Documents II, 2nd edn (London, 1981), no. 157 (p. 827).

[24] *DA*, ch. 67 (ed. Scott, pp. 136–9 and 206–7). The two lists are distinct in their content and format: the first records the year of death of two bishops in the eighth century, four in the ninth century and two in the tenth century; the second list records the day, but not the year, of the deaths of ten bishops *tempore Edgari regis*. For a discussion of the lists see F. Birkeli, 'The Earliest Missionary Activities from England to Norway', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1971), 27–37, at 28–9, and S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978–1016. A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 239, n. 23. William also knew of two laymen buried at Glastonbury: he noted that Æthelstan *comes* and one Brihtric commended their bodies to Glastonbury, although he gave no dates for their deaths; see *DA*, chs 53 and 58 (ed. Scott, pp. 113 and 121). It is worth observing the similarity of the wording with which William recorded these entries; this could suggest a common source. If William's source was a written one, it may have supplied the chronicler Æthelweard with the obit of another layman, Eanwulf (d. 867); see *The Chronicle of Æthelweard*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1962), p. 36.

[25] Although the 'thelstan *comes* recorded in the *De antiquitate* could be the same as 'thelstan *dux* in our list.

[26] Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 33, 15r; *DA*, ch. 67 (ed. Scott, p. 138).

marginal note may have come either from the BL manuscript itself or from the hypothetical lost exemplar.[27]

The list in BL Add. 17450 does show some resemblance to an early chapter (ch. 31) interpolated into the *De antiquitate*. The chapter recalls those kings and nobles who were buried at Glastonbury: Arthur, his wife, Centwine, Edmund *senior*, Edmund *minor*,[28] Edgar, bishops Brihtwig, Brihtwold, Lyfing and *Seifrid*[29] and the ealdormen Ælfhere,[30] Æthelstan, Æthelwine and Æthelnoth. All but Centwine, Arthur, his wife and Æthelnoth have obits recorded in the BL list. It is possible that the author of this passage used the list in BL Add. 17450 or its exemplar, among other sources, whilst adding the illustrious names of Arthur and Centwine.[31]

The BL list as a whole records the otherwise unknown obits of lay benefactors as well as those of several abbots of Glastonbury. If the *Cilnothus* abbot (no. 7) is an error for Æthelnoth, then the ten abbots named might represent a complete abbatial list from Ælfweard (d. *ca* 975)[32] to Robert (d. 1180) though, of course, not in chronological order. The list would, therefore, provide independent support for the abbatial sequence reconstructed by Knowles as opposed to that preserved in the surviving text of the *De antiq-*

[27] Lyfing's obit is recorded in the *ASC* 1046 CD under 20 and 23 March, respectively. See S. Keynes, 'Episcopal Succession in Anglo-Saxon England', *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. E. Fryde *et al.*, 3rd edn (London, 1986), pp. 209–24, at 215; and see below, no. 4.

[28] The use of *senior* and *minor* to distinguish the two Edmunds is like the *senior* and *iunior* of our list.

[29] *Seifrid* could be either Sigefrith, bishop of Norway, or Seffrid, bishop of Chichester. But since Sigefrith went to Norway and Seffrid may have retired to Glastonbury (see below, no. 24), it is perhaps more likely that the bishop of Chichester was intended.

[30] See *DA*, ch. 31 (ed. Scott, pp. 82–5). 'Alfari' should be Ælfhere not Ælfheah, as Scott translated.

[31] Since William of Malmesbury probably did not connect Arthur with Glastonbury and since he believed Lyfing to have been buried at Tavistock (*Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum Libri Quinque*, ch. 94; ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS 52 [London, 1870], p. 201), the chapter is unlikely to have been his work as it stands. Also, since Seffrid did not die until 1150 this chapter cannot have been interpolated until after that date; see *The Early History*, ed. Scott, pp. 195–6.

[32] Compare the tenth-century list which ends with Ælfweard, discussed elsewhere in this volume by Sarah Foot. The list is preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v, pt i, 23v. A facsimile was published in *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany: British Library Cotton Tiberius B v Part 1, Together With Leaves from British Library Cotton Nero D. II*, ed. P. McGurk *et al.*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 21 (Copenhagen, 1983), p. 74. On the manuscript see D. Dumville 'The Anglian Collection of Royal Genealogies and Regnal Lists', *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976), 23–50. The abbatial list was discussed by J. A. Robinson in his *Somerset Historical Essays* (London, 1921), pp. 26–53; see also D. Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 50–2. The list was transcribed by H. Edwards, *The Charters of the Early West Saxon Kingdom*, BAR Brit. ser. 198 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 7–9; Edwards suggested (p. 9) that the source for the list was either a *liber uitae* or a necrology.

uitate.[33] This would further suggest that the list in BL Add. 17450 was not constructed simply from the obits and information given in the *De antiquitate.*

The commemoration of three members of the same family, that of Ealdorman Ælfhere of Mercia, one of the most powerful families of the tenth century, is especially important. If the identifications suggested are correct, then lay people – and this family in particular – played an exceptional role in the life of Glastonbury.

In the edition which follows I have numbered each entry for reference and standardized punctuation and capitalization. I have expanded only those unambiguous abbreviations.

For the dates of the abbots I have followed Knowles.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADD. 17450, 5v

Notatio anniuersariorum in quibus requiritur mandatum

[1] Alwardus abbas .xiiii. kl. Ianuarii.

Abbot Ælfweard (*ca* 975–?1009), obit 19 December. He was not omitted by William, as Knowles suggested (*The Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 51), but rather misplaced in the *De antiquitate* before Sigegar, where he appeared receiving the privilege of Pope John. See *DA*, ch. 61 (ed. Scott, pp. 128–9).

[2] Beorthedus abbas .vi. idus Februarii.

Abbot Brihtred (1009?–1016x1019), obit 8 February. He was Ælfweard's successor and according to an interpolation in *DA*, ch. 23 (ed. Scott, pp. 72–4), he was involved in an attempt to translate the bones of Dunstan to Glastonbury. On this subject see R. Sharpe, 'Eadmer's Letter to the Monks of Glastonbury Concerning St Dunstan's Disputed Remains', in this volume.

[3] Turstinus abbas .v. idus Martii.

Abbot Thurstan (*ca* 1077x1078–1096), obit 11 March. This date is also given in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. xii (a martyrology from St Augustine's, s. xi/xii), at fol. 122. On Thurstan see further *DA*, ch. 78 (ed. Scott, pp. 156–9).

[4] Liuerigus episcopus .xiiii. kl. Aprilis.

Bishop Lyfing (1027–46), obit 19 March. This same obit appears in a marginal note to the Trinity text of ch. 67 of the *De antiquitate* (ed. Scott, p. 138), for Bishop *Liuingus*, stating also that he was a monk of Glastonbury. He is likely to have been the bishop of Crediton, Cornwall and Worcester who died 20 or 23 March 1046 (ASC CD) rather than the bishop of Wells and archbishop of

[33] For the abbatial list in the *De antiquitate*, see ch. 71 (ed Scott, pp. 146–9), and for that reconstructed by Knowles *et al.*, see *The Heads of Religious Houses*, pp. 50–2.

Canterbury (998x999–1013 and 1013–20), who died 12 June. See Keynes, 'Episcopal Succession', p. 215. The Leofric Missal records the death of Lyfing on 19 February (ed. Warren, p. l).

[5] Sigefridus episcopus non. Aprilis.

Sigefrith, bishop of Norway (*ca* 960), obit 5 April. The date of his death agrees with that in the *DA*, ch. 67 (ed. Scott, pp. 139 and 206), where he is also said to have given four copes to the abbey; see Birkeli, 'The Earliest Missionary Activities', pp. 28–9. This obit confirms the distinction between the two tenth-century bishops called Sigefrith. The other, bishop of Sweden, was commemorated on 15 February. See *Acta Sanctorum Bollandi* Februarii II (Antwerp, 1658), pp. 847–51.

[6] Brithwius episcopus et abbas Glaston. .iii. idus Aprilis.

Brihtwig, abbot of Glastonbury (*ca* 1019–24) and bishop of Wells (1024?x1033), obit 11 April. The same obit also appears as a mid-eleventh-century Abingdon addition in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57, fols 41–94, printed by M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1909–12) I, 115–18. See also Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready'*, p. 239, n. 22. The 'autobiography' of Giso, bishop of Wells (1061–88), however, records Brihtwig's death on 12 April; see *Historiola Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis*, in *Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. J. Hunter, Camden Society 8 (London, 1840), pp. 15–20, at 15. The year of his death is recorded in the ASC 1033 E under the name Merehwit, where it is stated that he was bishop of Somerset (Wells) and was buried at Glastonbury. It was noted in the *De antiquitate* that he was buried in the northern portico of the chapel of St John the Baptist (chs 31 and 67; ed. Scott, pp. 84–5 and 138–9). His gifts to the abbey included an altar-frontal and a cross, on which see *DA*, ch. 63 (ed. Scott, pp. 130–1).

[7] Cilnothus abbas Glaston. idus Aprilis.

Cilnoth, abbot of Glastonbury, obit 13 April. This is probably Abbot Æthelnoth (1053–1077x1078), whose charter setting aside land for the support of the poor is preserved in the Great Cartulary. Was this part of an arrangement for Æthelnoth's anniversary? See *The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury*, ed. A. Watkin, 3 vols, SRS 59, 63–4 (1947–56) III, 701–2. D. Whitelock suggested that he was deposed on Whitsun (28 May) 1078; *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church I. A.D. 871–1204*, ed. D. Whitelock *et al.*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1981) II, 624–5. The problem was discussed further by F. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), pp. 553–4, but neither Harmer nor Whitelock took account of the Glastonbury charter, which is dated to Easter Day 1079.

[8] Brithgyua benefactrix Glaston. .iiii. non. Aprilis.

Brihtgifu, *benefactrix* of Glastonbury, obit 2 April. No such woman appears in the *De antiquitate*, in the contents-list of the lost Glastonbury cartulary (the *Liber terrarum*), or in the Great Cartulary. A *Bricteva* is named in DB, I, 97rb (*Somerset*, 35.4) as holding land in Somerset, but with no obvious relationship to Glastonbury.

[9] Brithwoldus episcopus et monachus Glast. .x. kl. Maii.

Brihtwold, bishop of Ramsbury (1005–45) and monk of Glastonbury, obit 22 April. His death, but not the day, and his benefactions to Glastonbury were recorded in *DA*, ch. 68 (ed. Scott, pp. 138–41), where he was also described as a monk of Glastonbury. His obit is recorded in the ASC 1045 C and possibly in CCCC 57 where part of the name is given.

[10] Ealpheagus dux .xiiii. kl. Maii.

Ælfheah, ealdorman of Central Wessex (959–970x971), obit 18 April. His death was recorded by John of Worcester, who stated that he was buried at Glastonbury in 971; see *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1848), p. 142, s.a. 971. See also the new edition of the *Chronicon* by P. McGurk, forthcoming. It would be interesting to know where John found his information: his record of this obit is unique in that it gives the year of Ælfheah's death, where our list does not. John also preserves the unique obit of Wulfstan, deacon of Glastonbury, in 981; see the *Chronicon*, ed. Thorpe, pp. 146–7. Could he have had access to a now lost *liber uitae* of Glastonbury? He was certainly interested in collecting such information and knew William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* at least. See R. Darlington and P. McGurk 'The *Chronicon ex Chronicis* of "Florence" of Worcester and its Use of Sources for English History before 1066', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 5 (1982), 185–96. Ælfheah signed one charter of 972 (S.784). However, Whitelock noted (*Wills*, p. 121) the text of this was from a thirteenth-century cartulary and could be corrupt. Apart from S.784, the last charter that Ælfheah witnessed is dated 970 (S.779). If the widow who received a charter (S.775) in that year was his wife then this would confirm 970 and not 971 as the date of his death (see Ælfswith below, no. 15). Ælfheah was the elder brother of ealdormen Ælfhere and Ælfwine; see A. Williams, '*Princeps Merciorum gentis*: The Family, Career and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, 956–83', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1982), 143–72. A number of his charters are recorded as having been at Glastonbury: they appear in the *Liber terrarum* contents-list as nos. 69, 96, 109 and 113 (S.747). In his will, S.1485, he left Batcombe to his wife and after her death to his son or brother, with reversion to Glastonbury 'for the sake of our father and our mother and all of us'. This suggests a strong connection between his family and Glastonbury.

[11] Edelfleda benefactris Glast. .xiiii. kl. Iunii.

Æthelflaed, *benefactrix* of Glastonbury, obit 19 May. This name is a common one and hence identification is uncertain. She is unlikely to be the Æthelflaed *matrona* who lived at Glastonbury – on whom see B., Vita S. Dunstani, chs 9–11, in *Memorials of Saint Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 63 (London, 1874), pp. 3–52, at 16–20, and whose obit is given as 13 April by M. Alfordus (otherwise known as M. Griffith), in *Fides Regia Anglicana*, in *Annales Ecclesiastici et Civiles Britannorum, Saxonum, Anglorum*, ed. M. Alford, 4 vols (Liège, 1663) III, 262; and see *Acta Sanctorum Bollandi* Maii IV (Antwerp, 1685), pp. 349–50. She could be Æthelflaed of Damerham, the second wife of Edmund I and daughter of Ealdorman Ælfgar (ASC 946 D). The latter left Damerham to Glastonbury in her will, datable to 962x991 (S.1494), for the souls of herself, Edgar and Edmund. An Ely calendar commemorates on 20 May Ealdorman Byrhtnoth's wife, Ælfflaed, and his wife's sister, Æthelflaed of Damerham; it is printed in B. Dickins, 'The Day of Byrhtnoth's Death and

Other Obits from a Twelfth-Century Ely Kalendar', *Leeds Studies in English* 6 (1935), 14–24, at 17–23. The calendar in G preserves the obit of one Ælfflaed *mulier Ælfgari* on 26 May. Robinson suggested that this Ælfgar might have been the ealdorman so named and that Ælfflaed *mulier* could be the mother of Æthelflaed of Damerham and her sister Ælfflaed; see his 'The Mediaeval Calendars', p. 177.

[12] Eadmundus senior rex Anglie .vii. kl. Iunii.

King Edmund I (939–46), obit 26 May. ASC 946 gives St Augustine's Day, 26 May. According to the *DA*, ch. 31 (ed. Scott, pp. 84–5), and John of Worcester's *Chronicon*, s.a. 946 (ed. Thorpe, p. 134), he was buried at Glastonbury. See further *DA*, chs. 55–6 (ed. Scott, pp. 114–19), and Æthelflaed's will, as above (no. 11). He was said to lie in the tower of the larger church. The calendar G also preserves this obit.

[13] Eadgarus rex .viii. idus Iulii.

King Edgar (957x959–975), obit July 8. The same date is in ASC 975 CAB. His burial and what may have been a later attempt to create a royal cult at Glastonbury are recorded in the *DA*, chs 62, 66 (ed. Scott, pp. 128–31, 134–5); for his numerous gifts see chs. 60–2 (ed. Scott, pp. 122–31). Note that John of Worcester also recorded that Edgar was buried at Glastonbury 'according to kingly custom' (*Chronicon*, s.a. 975; ed. Thorpe, p. 143).

[14] Ini rex .xi. kl. Augusti.

King Ine of Wessex (688–726), obit 22 July. He abdicated, leaving for Rome in 726; see D. Dumville, 'The West Saxon Genealogical Regnal List and the Chronology of Early Wessex', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 21–66, at 41. His obit was recorded in the calendar G for the same day (*[D]epositio Ine regis Occidentalium [Saxonum]*) and again in the Muchelney calendar, but for 20 July (*Ine rex qui dedit Ilymynster*); see Robinson, 'The Mediaeval Calendars', pp. 134 and 174, and Gerchow, *Die Gedenkuberlieferung*, pp. 330–1. See also *Acta Sanctorum Bollandi* Februarii I (Antwerp, 1658), pp. 905–14, where Ine's obit is recorded for 7 February. His benefactions to Glastonbury were recorded in *DA*, chs 39–43 (ed. Scott, pp. 92–102).

[15] Elsuyy benefactrix Glast. .ii. idus Augusti.

Ælfswith *benefactrix* of Glastonbury, obit 12 August. One Ælfswith is recorded in a number of charters in the Glastonbury archives: nos. 103, 110, 111, 114 and 127 in the *Liber terrarum*, and S.462, 747, 775. The *De antiquitate* adds that she gave a stole with maniple and a chasuble (ch. 62; ed. Scott, pp. 128–31). In the latter she is called *regina*, which may be an error since no such queen is elsewhere recorded for the tenth century. Moreover, in the list in the *De antiquitate* of estates given by this 'queen' is a grant for which the text has survived, S.775. In this Ælfswith is called nun and widow. The estate granted was at Idmiston, which was one of a number of estates previously given to one Wulfric, others of which were acquired by Ealdorman Ælfheah and possibly his brother Æthelwine. This might reinforce the impression that Ælfswith, nun and widow, was the wife of Ælfheah and that this entry is her obit. S.747 and S.462 both refer to Ælfswith, wife of Ælfheah (see above, no. 10). Of the estates she received, five were owned by the abbey in 1066.

[16] Eilwardus abbas Glast. .v. idus Nouembris.

Æthelweard, abbot of Glastonbury (*ca* 1024–53), obit 9 November. His obit agrees with that in Vitellius C. xii, 148v. ASC *D* records his death before All Saints' Day, 1053. He was noted for his translation of Edgar; see *DA*, ch. 66 (ed. Scott, pp. 134–5), and also *The Register of Malmesbury Abbey*, ed. J. Brewer, 2 vols, RS 72 (London, 1879–80) I, 57.

[17] Elfere dux .xi. kl. Nouembris.

Ealdorman Ælfhere, obit 22 October. He was the brother of Ælfheah, and is mentioned together with Ælfswith in Ælfheah's will, S.1485. See Williams, *'Princeps Merciorum'*, pp. 166–7. John of Worcester recorded his death s.a. 983 (ed. Thorpe, p. 147), but his burial at Glastonbury is only noted in the interpolated ch. 31 of the *De antiquitate* (ed. Scott, pp. 84–5). He received a number of estates recorded in the Glastonbury archive: nos. 89/90, 116, 117 in the *Liber terrarum*, and S.555. According to the *DA*, ch. 62 (ed. Scott, pp. 128–31), Ælfhere gave all these to Glastonbury, together with Batcombe, mentioned in his brother's will. Only Batcombe was held by the abbey in 1066. Thus either the lands were lost before that date or they were never given. In the latter case it is interesting that these charters should survive in the Glastonbury archive: possibly some, at least, of the charters of Ælfhere and his family were deposited at the abbey for safe-keeping. Mention of one further charter, which might have belonged to this Ælfhere, is preserved in a list of charters under the heading *Cartae de diuersis redditibus uel rebus datis ecclesiae Glaston*, separate from that of the *Liber terrarum* contents-list, in Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 33, 81r: *Carta Elfere de quadam domo in Bristolt*. The list is printed in *JG*, ed. Hearne, II, 389–92, at 392.

[18] Eilwinus dux et monachus Glast. .vi. kl. Decembris.

Æthelwine, ealdorman and monk of Glastonbury, obit 26 November. The *DA*, ch. 31 (ed. Scott, pp. 83–5), recorded that Ealdorman Æthelwine was buried at Glastonbury. The only Æthelwine who witnessed as ealdorman was the son of Æthelstan 'Half King' and Ealdorman of East Anglia (962–92), on whom see C. Hart, 'Æthelstan "Half King" and his Family', *Anglo-Saxon England* 2 (1973), 115–44, at 133. His obit, however, was recorded for 24 April at his foundation of Ramsey; see the Ramsey obit-list recorded by J. Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, 2nd edn, 6 vols (London, 1774) II, 587–8. Since no other Æthelwine witnessed as ealdorman it is likely that an error has been made in this entry, or its exemplar, either in describing Æthelwine as an ealdorman or in the form of his name.

[19] Herlewinus abbas Glast. .x. kl. Nouembris.

Herluin, abbot of Glastonbury (1100–18), obit 23 October. Vitellius C. xii, fol. 147, has 24 October. For his deeds see *DA*, ch. 79 (ed. Scott, pp. 158–61). He was buried next to Thurstan *ad sanctum Andream*.

[20] Eadmundus rex iunior .iii. kl. Decembris.

King Edmund Ironside (April – November 1016), obit 29 November. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* he died in 1016 on St Andrew's Day, 30 November, and was buried at Glastonbury. A gift of land made by Edmund to the abbey is recorded in the *DA*, chs 64, 69 (ed. Scott, pp. 132–3, 144–5). However, the account given in ch. 64 may not be William's work (see *The Early History*, ed. Scott, p. 205); it described Cnut's visit to Glastonbury on St

Andrew's feast to honour Edmund, and provided a convenient explanation for the charter of privileges made by Cnut to Glastonbury (recorded in *DA*, ch. 65; ed. Scott, pp. 132–3).

[21] Sigericus archiepiscopus et monachus Glast. .iii. kl. Nouembris.

Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury (990–94) and monk of Glastonbury, obit 30 October. He was translated from Ramsbury to Canterbury in 990 and died in 994. *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, English Historical Documents I, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), no. 1 (p. 236, n. 3), gives 28 October; see further N. Brooks, *The Early History*, pp. 278–87. Sigeric gave seven altar-cloths to Glastonbury, with which the church was decorated on his anniversary; see *DA*, ch. 67 (ed. Scott, pp. 136–9). The *De antiquitate* provides the only evidence other than this list that Sigeric was a monk of Glastonbury.

[22] Aelstanus dux .vi. kl. Iunii.

Ealdorman Æthelstan, obit 27 May. His burial is noted in *DA*, ch. 31 (ed. Scott, pp. 82–5). The obvious candidate is Æthelstan 'Half King' who retired to become a monk at Glastonbury in or after 956. Hart, 'Æthelstan "Half King" ', pp. 125–6, suggested on the basis of charter witness-lists that he retired in mid-summer, 956. Although, for the possibility that he witnessed charters in the autumn of 956, see the discussion of Eadwig's charters by Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready'*, pp. 48–68, at 59–61. For evidence of grants that he received, see nos. 40, 41, 42, 55, 101 in the *Liber terrarum* contents-list and S.371, 442, 498. It is not, however, clear that all these estates were made over to Glastonbury or that they formed part of Glastonbury's early endowment (*contra* Hart, 'Æthelstan "Half King" ', p. 126). Dunstan's biographer, B, noted Æthelstan's association with Dunstan before the death of Edmund; see *Vita S. Dunstani*, ch. 31, in *Memorials*, ed. Stubbs, pp. 44–5.

[23] Henricus Winton. episcopus et abbas Glaston. .vi. idus Augusti.

Henry, bishop of Winchester (1129–71) and abbot of Glastonbury (1126–71), obit 8 August. The year of his death was discussed in *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara*, ed. C. Deedes, Canterbury and York Society 30 (Oxford, 1924), p. 628. His 'autobiography' is recorded in *AD*, ed. Hearne, II, 304 ff. His anniversary was observed by Abbot Robert (*AD*, ed. Hearne, II, 331–2).

[24] Sefridus Cicestrensis episcopus et abbas Glaston. .iii. idus Augusti.

Seffrid, abbot of Glastonbury (1120x1121–1125) and bishop of Chichester (1125–45), obit 11 August 1150. His obit is similarly recorded in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 18953 (a seventeenth-century history of the abbey of Séez), and quoted in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, 4 vols, *RS* 82 (London, 1885–9) *IV*, 110, n. 6. He was bishop of Chichester until his deposition in 1145. H. Mayr-Harting in *The Bishops of Chichester 1075–1207*, Chichester Papers 40 (Chichester, 1963), 4–7, suggested that after this he retired to Glastonbury; see also J. Carley, *Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 18, n. 4, where C. A. R. Radford's opinion to the same effect was noted. An excavated twelfth-century burial might have been that of Seffrid; C. A. R. Radford, 'The Excavations at Glastonbury Abbey 1956–7', *SDNQ* 27 (1955–60), 165–9, at 169. Seffrid gave a pall, chasuble and alb to the monastery and received a privilege from Pope Calixtus; see *DA*, chs. 81–2 (ed. Scott, pp. 162–5).

[25] Hugo laicus et soror Mabilia pater et mater Roberti abbati .iii. kl. Maii.

Hugo, layman, and Mabel, sister, the father and mother of Abbot Robert of Winchester, obit 29 April. This entry is the only source known to me that supplies the names of Robert's parents. His brother, Herbert, was mentioned in the Glastonbury survey of 1189 as holding land at Glastonbury, and may be the same as Herbert, son of Hugh, one of the jurors for the Glastonbury return; see *Liber Henrici*, ed. Jackson, pp. 3–4, 21–3 and 83.

[26] Robertus abbas Glast. Vitalis festo deus illi proximus esto.

Robert, abbot of Glastonbury (1173–80), obit 28 April (the feast of Vitalis). Robert's obit is also given as 28 April (1180) by *AD*, ed. Hearne, II, 331. It is also preserved in Vitellius C. xii, 126v, and London, British Library, Cotton Nero C. ix (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xiii), 10v. Robert was the only abbot whose name was copied into the Christ Church martyrology together with the names of thirty-one monks of Glastonbury. It is possible that he entered into some confraternal agreement with Christ Church and that the names represent the members of the community at the time. See also the St Augustine's calendar (Vitellius C. xii) which records the obits of abbots Æthelweard, Thurstan, Herluin and Robert together with eighty-four monks of Glastonbury. Again such information could only have come from a *liber uitae* and one that was kept at least from the time of Æthelweard's death.

[27] Henricus rex secundus .ii. non. Iulii.

King Henry II (1154–89), obit 6 July. This agrees with the day recorded elsewhere; see J. Dart, *The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Canterbury* (London, 1726), Appendix, p. xxiv, and *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, RS 49 (London, 1867) II, 67–71, at 71.

Monastic Estate Management in Pre-Conquest Somerset

The title of this paper assumes something which perhaps I ought to ask[1]. Were monastic estates managed? And if so to what extent? Management I take to involve two concepts; first, the organisation of resources, both on the estates of a community as a whole and within an individual manor; secondly, it involved man-management, together with the implications of political control that went with it. Both these aspects will have to be consdered if an attempt is made to assess management and the ideal aim of management: efficiency.

The difficulty of course is the lack of direct evidence. There is indirect evidence, however, in charters and particularly in the DB surveys as I shall demonstrate for a small group of Somerset monasteries found on the edge of the Somerset levels, namely Glastonbury, Muchelney and Athelney, as well as the episcopal community at Wells.

The management of estates was surely an essential part of the life and running of any ecclesiastical institution. The provision of supplies, of food and of money involved meticulous planning of the quality and quantity of commodities demanded by the various parts of the community's estates: such considerations are only made explicit in continental sources[2]. At Glastonbury there was much development of the monastic buildings and the church underwent several succesive building programmes in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A document possibly written by Bishop Giso of Wells (1060-1088)[3] (usually referred to as his autobiography), describes the need to build up the estates of the cathedral community, in order both to increase the number of brethren and to provide new buildings in the form of a cloister and refectory. Both food and money would be needed by the

growing community; food would come from the church demesne; money from either the sale of church demesne surplus or from money rents and tithes. Lennard argued that money rents became increasingly evident towards the end of the tenth century but their extent varied according to the place and access to markets[4]. Where money seems to have been important to the growth of the Rochester community in the eleventh century, for instance, there is less evidence for its use at Glastonbury.

The building or development of estates can be clearly seen in two stages. First, at the foundation of a monastery or community when large areas immediately adjacent are granted. Such land would be easy to control as well as providing the necessary surplus for the community. Secondly, there is development over a period of time. This is apparent with the extensive estates of Glastonbury, many of which are adjacent and form a great block in the centre of Somerset. At Muchelney and at Wells adjacent estates were likewise acquired. At the same time in the late eleventh century these estates tended to have a very large demesne sector; that is, DB records a significant proportion of demesne plough-teams [?4 or more], as distinct from peasant plough teams. The advantages of such organisation in the early middle ages are thought to have been a ready and constant supply of food. It does, of course, require a high degree of control over the peasantry from whom heavy labour services are exacted.

Rarely, however, were all the estates in the same locality. Some like those of Muchelney, Athelney and Wells were spread across much of the county, others like those of Glastonbury, across seven counties. Many of the grants would be gifts and hence their position and structure partly fortuitous. The church must have actively encouraged donors who in turn would be aware of the needs of the community - hence one should see a

complex interplay of interests. Other estates would have been sought after whether by purchase or pursuasion. Again, the 'autobiography' of Giso provides examples of both. He bought the estates of Combe, *Wurmeston* and Litton for the 'use' of the canons. He further persuaded the abbot of Glastonbury to part with the manor of *Kulmerton*. Giso evidently had three aims. First, to build up the lands immediately contiguous to Wells, by extending its possessions along the southern foot of the Mendips to Wedmore. Secondly, to acquire valuable manors, often on good quality soil, such as Banwell. Thirdly, to acquire, or at least keep possession of, the valuable rights of lordship, particularly those of hundredal lordship. He tried unsuccessfully to regain the monastery of St Peter's in Gloucester *cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus*. Yet remarkably he managed to keep all Wells' estates in the south of the county in the same hundred of Kingsbury Episcopi.

A pattern behind the development of the estates of Glastonbury Abbey is much harder to discern. Nevertheless, the early charters, which I think can be trusted, suggest that large units of land were granted in the seventh and eighth centuries in the immediate vicinity of the abbey, for example, on the Polden Hills and in the river Doulting area.

Some estates were bought by the abbots, such as at Badbury (Wilts.) and at Wilton (Wilts.). Of course, these properties may simply have provided the abbot with places to stay whilst he travelled. But the manors may also have provided valuable access to markets, such as in the borough of Wilton. It is interesting that Glastonbury also owned two dwellings in the borough of Malmesbury. A burgess of Malmesbury is recorded in an entry for the Glastonbury manor of Kington Langley, and possibly he served an intermediary role in the transport of the estate's surplus to market.

Another means of controlling the development of the estates was via exchange. One example is particularly interesting: an exchange of land at *Brannoc* in Devon for land at Ham in Somerset (973), only a few miles from Glastonbury. By 1066 Glastonbury had lost all but one of its estates in Devon and it may be that this exchange was an attempt to come to terms with the problem of controlling estates some distance away.

The tenth century saw a growth in the needs of the community. During the abbacy of Dunstan there may have been considerable development of the abbey buildings and an increase in the number of monks. The majority of the grants in the tenth century are bequests made by laymen (for instance Athelstan 'Half King', Ealdormen Ælfheah and Ælfhere), keenly aware of the community's needs. Grants also came directly from the king and over these Dunstan might be expected to have exerted some influence. Several of the grants were situated on the rich oolite region to the east of the county. The soil type of these estates is classified by modern agronomists as grades one and two, indicating that the land was very fertile and easy to till (e.g. Tintinhull, Blackford and Kingstone). Hence provision was made for the growing community. These estates also gave ease of access since most lay within reach of the Foss Way.

A major consideration for the abbot or bishop would have been how to organise and run the estates. Sometimes lands were leased out. The advantages of the lease were that it provided a fixed income of either food or money rents and was useful in the long-term because it allowed some degree of planning on the basis of expected income. It has been argued that the other great advantage of lease-rents is that they were security in times of social and political disturbances and further that the taking of rent could itself be used as proof of ownership in the event of dispute.

The greatest difficulty with the lease, however, was the problem of alienation. If land was leased out, usually for a period of three lives, it could prove difficult to recover. Disputes arose from such attempts at Muchelney, Glastonbury and Wells. In the latter case the bishop was forced to anathematize the lesee.

There were alternatives to leasing. The abbey could instead keep large sections of each acquired estate in demesne, that is, farm it directly. The advantages were a constant supply of food, usually close to the community; ease of control over the cultivation itself (regulating the type and quantity of foodstuffs grown); and reduced risk of the estate becoming alienated. An alternative, again, involved a reduced demesne interest and a corresponding increase in arable cultivation by peasant tenants. From the peasants the lord could demand increasingly, rents in money or kind and hence arguably this was more profitable than the slave labour often used in demesne. Professor Postan has argued that 'changes through time proceeded everywhere in more or less the same direction: that from demsne to rents' [or farms][5]. Such developments may be linked to social change where a decline in slavery saw an increase in freedmen. As Professore Loyn suggests, this happened as the growing economy saw an increasing money market[6]. All this, it has been argued, was at the expence of the great demesne enterprises, which depended heavily on a permanent labour force of slaves. The estates of the Somerset communities were largely farmed in demesne (with a large area of demesne arable as opposed to peasant arable) and since it was the demesne enterprise which suffered from progress, these institutions could be seen as retarded. As Harvey noted, 'demesne agriculture in the late eleventh century was not usually the best proposition....for building ecclesiastics'[7].

Yet economic conditions were rarely uniform or consistent. There were many regional and local differences. Hence the choice to adopt either type of agriculture depended on many factors; the supply of slaves, which in the south-west may have been readily available at least until the tenth century (and which continued to be important in the eleventh century as the DB demonstrates); the distance of the estates from the community and the consequent need for vigilance to prevent their loss; the type of agriculture, whether arable or, for example, sheep farming; and further, whether these considerations equalled or surpassed the possible increase in revenues that could be had from peasant cultivation. A further point is the amount of political clout the abbey had for the protection and control of its lands: Glastonbury certainly was favoured with royal influence in the tenth century but less so in the ninth and eleventh centuries. The variety we encounter indicates varying responses to varying conditions and as such could be regarded as symptomatic not of confusion but of rationality.

Muchelney and Athelney were smaller communities than Glastonbury. Both of them held 7 manors prior to 1066 (ie.TRE).This is in marked contrast to Bath's 13, Wells' 15 and Glastonbury's 43 manors. The organization of the lands closest to Muchelney does follow the same pattren as at Wells and Glastonbury, where overall there is intensive demesne agriculture. This can be shown both by the absolute number of ploughs in demesne and also by the relative numbers, that is the proportion of demesne ploughs-teams (dpt) to peasant ploughs-teams (ppt). [1:2 is the DB average and a greater ratio of dpt to ppt may be taken to indicate intensive demsne agriculture]. At Muchelney and the adjacent manor of Draycott the ratio of dpt to ppt is at its highest, 2:2 and 6:9. Muchelney estates that were some distance from

the abbey tended to have a low demesne interest. Ilminster was held by the abbey but exceptionally the demense interest was far greater than that of the church: 3:20, dpt:ppt. This may have been because the soil around Ilminster was among the most productive in the county and peasant cultivation was a more profitable way of exacting a return. It would be easier to market the produce at Ilminster rather than move it to Muchelney. In the tenth century Ilminster had been leased out and was only recovered with the help of the king. Thus a small community needed direct control of adjacent estates but the commitment of organisation and manpower was not worth its while at any great distance.

On the lands of the church of Wells there was intensive demesne agriculture, with an overall ratio of 1:2.6 dpt to ppt. At Wells itself the ratio was (6:15) and the lands closest to it, Litton, Westbury and Wedmore, had similar ratios. Those estates at some distance, however, in the north and south of the county show a much lower demesne ratio (e.g. Chard 2:14, Comb 3:12, Chew 6:24, Banwell 3:18) All these estates were directly held by the bishop rather than by tenants. This conforms to the pattern noted by E.King on the Peterborough estates where the intensive demesne farming could provide a surplus near to the centre of the estates, and where those estates furthest from the centre overcame the problem of distance with much smaller demesne and a correspondingly larger rent-paying sector[8]. The autobiography of Giso should lead us to expect some rational planning and organisation; for he was concerned both for the *augmentum cleri* and also for their *sustentatio.* This I think is reflected in the pattern described.

The estates of Glastonbury Abbey show an even greater investment in demsne agriculture than those of Wells, Muchelney and Athelney with a ratio in the Somerset manors of 1:1.5 dpt to ppt. Exceptionally high levels of

5:5 existed at Glastonbury itself and 10:10 at Pilton. But there were considerable differences between the estates of the church, of major tenants and of subtenants. Demesne agriculture was certainly important on the demesne lands as a whole, but comparatively it was less so on the church demesne. The ratio of church pt to peasant pt was 1:2, low when compared with the ratios on the subtenants' land 1:1.1 and on the tenants' land 1:1 (though, all three are extremely high when compared to the lands of the king). But, again, on church demesne there was considerable variation: on the one hand Pilton shows the ratio of 1:1 and on the other, Middlezoy shows a ratio of 1:7. These estates with a high ratio of dpts to ppts are generally less complex, with little or no subinfeudation whereas those with a higher proportion of peasant ploughs tend to be more complex. Thus Walton with three subtenancies has a ratio of 1:4.5, Wrington with two subtenancies has a ratio of 1:3.3, conversely Marksbury with no subtenants has a ratio of 1:0.7.

This suggests that on small estates demesne agriculture was at a premium but that on complex manors pressure was placed on the tenants and subtenants to undertake demesne agriculture, possibly for increased rents, although it is possible that the choice to commute labour service to rents may have been taken by the subtenants themselves.

The Glastonbury estates differ from those of other monasteries in their size and wide distribution, as well as in extent of demesne farming even on distant estates. There was apparently no 'distance decay' of demesne interest, as shown in the smaller monasteries. In Dorset where the lands are almost entirely in demesne the ratio of dpts to ppts is 1:1.5 and the ratio of slaves to pts is 1:1.9 - close to the ideal for demesne farming. The Wiltshire survey shows 15 estates held by the church with only

4 subtenants. These demonstrate a high ratio of demsne agriculture with a ratio of 1:1.4.

The employment of demesne agriculture was a rational choice given that there was supply of cheap labour and the ability to control distant estates. Yet Harvey has argued that the most profitable asset was not the size of the demesne arable or the size of the dependent peasant arable but rather the additional rights of lordship. Glastonbury estates seem to make the most of this: despite the fact that the tenants owned 40% of the demesne teams and 50% of the peasant teams, they had only one quarter of the value of the abbey's lands.

Large scale demesne farming was profitable if the circumstances allowed it. Thus a propitious economy and a stable political climate enabled this type of agriculture to expand in the thirteenth century. A prerequisite for such growth were markets in which to sell the produce. In the case of the Wilts. estates of Glastonbury, Kington with its burgess was centrally placed and possibly to this manor came surplus before being taken to market in Malmesbury. In Somerset Glastonbury owned the church at Ilchester which likewise could have given access to the market there. One of the most important implictions of large scale demesne agriculture is the degree of control wielded by the abbey. This in turn demanded agents: a managerial class both servile and non-servile. The eleventh-century *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum* - a text which it has been argued reflects estate organisation in the W.Midlands - describes the functions of the *gebur* and the *cotsetla.* A twelfth-century survey of Glastonbury estates specifies these roles in almost identical terms. Hence this might suggest that a similar arrangement as that suggested in the *Rectitudines* existed on the Glastonbury estates in the eleventh century. DB has, however, very

little to say of the supervisory class on the Glastonbury estates. There is evidence for one of the largest manors in Domesday England: Leominster, royal land, had 30 plts in demesne and 82 slaves. In order to organise these, it had 8 reeves, 8 bailiffs, and 8 riding men. On this particular estate the number of slaves to operate each pt is over 2:1 - the ideal ratio. On the Glastonbury estates, however, this ideal was rarely met, the ratio being 1:1.3, suggesting that someone other than slaves operated the teams. Managers would still have been needed but DB records for Glastonbury's Somerset estates only one reeve at Brent and only one reeve on the Wilts. estates. It is possible, however, as Harvey suggests, that the groups of subtenants attached to the large demesne manors may supply this missing class. The reeve at Brent held 5 virgates which corresponds to the holding (1-1½ hides) of a large number of subtenants. On the manor of Shapwick 14 thanes held 20 hides and on the same manor there were 13 riding horses which may have been used by the estate's riding men. On the estates of Muchelney this pattern becomes more clear - 4 subtenants held 1 hide apiece (the fifth subtenant held half a hide).

The estates of the Someset ecclesiastics were clearly managed. They were organised variously to suit the needs of the different communities in a rational and planned way. The question of efficiency is, of course, relative to time and place, but it cannot always be answered in economic terms. Monasteries had peculiar requirements. On the Glastonbury estates slaves were particularly prominent, and hence large-scale demesne agriculture made sense. It was still more strongly indicated if management over some distance was possible, if the necessary political support was there and if access to markets was available. The development of the monastery at Glastonbury in the tenth century is perhaps in itself

testament to the good organisation and management of the estates. Large-scale demesne agriculture could be a 'speculative enterprise' just as it was in the thirteenth century. Management in tenth- and eleventh-century Somerset seems to have paid off.

Notes

1) This paper was read at the Southern History Society Conference, October 1988. I have added footnotes only where authorities are cited specifically in the text. The following works were influential in the production of this paper.

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2) Duby, *Rural Economy*, p. 92.

3) *Historia*, ed. Hunter, pp. 14-20.

4) Lennard, *Rural England*.

5) Postan, *Medieval Economy*, p. 105.

6) Loyn, 'Currency'.

7) Harvey, 'Extent and Profitability', p. 69.

8) King, *Peterborough Abbey*.